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A Weekly



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No. 17—Dec. 2nd

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THE FATHERLAND

Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary

Edited by GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK and FREDERICK F. SCHRADER

VOL. I. No. 17

DECEMBER 2, 1914.

PRICE, 5 CENTS

A GERMAN FRIEND OF AMERICA TO THE AMERICANS

By Ludwig Fulda.

(Ludwig Fulda needs hardly any introduction to Americans. He is well known in this country and has more than once been the guest of our universities and colleges. His popularity in Germany is tremendous and many of his plays are veritable classics. In his country Fulda is recognized not only as a great dramatist, as a remarkable translator of Moliere and Shakespeare, as a fine poet, but also as a man of marked political ideas and independence. He has always been a bold champion of freedom. On more than one occasion he has disagreed publicly with the Kaiser. Indeed, he lost the Schiller Prize, a prize which is considered one of Europe's greatest distinctions, because he had fearlessly taken issue with William II. But in this hour of crisis Fulda is seen as one of the staunchest defenders of Germany. The following article he has written especially for the readers of THE FATHERLAND.)

WE have been taught many things by this war that even the keenest minded among us would have declared to be impossibilities immediately before its outbreak. Nothing, however, has been a greater and more painful surprise to Germans than the position taken by a great part of the American press. There is nothing that we would have less suspected than that amidst the one neutral nation with which we felt ourselves most closely connected, both by common interests and also by common ideals, voices would be raised that in the hour of our greatest danger would deny us their sympathy, yes, even their comprehension of our course.

To me personally—I cannot avoid saying this—this was a very bitter disappointment. Not even a year has passed when I was over there the second time as guest and returned strengthened in my admiration for that great, upward striving community. In my book “Amerikanische Eindrücke” (“American Impressions”), which just now has appeared anew in a considerably supplemented form, comprising the fruits of that trip, I have made every effort to place before my countrymen in the brightest light, the advantages and superiorities of America, and especially to convince them that the so-called land of the dollar was not only economically but also mentally and spiritually striding upward irresistibly; that also in the longing and effort to obtain education and knowledge and in the valuation of all the higher things in life, it was not surpassed by any other country in the world. In the entire book there is not a page that is not filled with the confidence that for these very reasons America and Germany were called upon to walk hand in hand at the head of cultured humanity. Is this belief now to be contradicted? Shall I as a German no longer be permitted to call myself a friend of America because over there they think the worst of us for the reason that we, dastardly attacked by a world of foes, are struggling with unanimous determination for our existence?

Of course I know very well that public opinion over there has largely been misled by our opponents and is continuously being misled. Did not the English at the very beginning of the

war cut our cable, in order to be able to guillotine our honor without the least interference? For this reason I cannot blame the masses if they took for truth the absurd fables dished out to them, when no contradicting voice could reach them. Less than that, however, can I understand how educated beings, even men who, thanks to their gifts and their standing, play the part of responsible leaders, not only accepted believingly these prevarications and distortions, but using them as a basis immediately rendered a verdict against us. For he who publicly judges must be expected to first have heard both parties; and whoever is not in a position to do this must in decency be expected to postpone his verdict. Yes, even more than that, one should think that the sense of justice of every non-partisan must be violated if the one party is absolutely muzzled by the other, and even for this one reason the cause of the latter must be considered as not being free from reason for doubt. And furthermore one should assume that he who once has been unmasked as a liar therewith should have lost the blind confidence of the impartial in his future assertions. In spite of this, although the first ridiculous news of German defeats and interior dissent could not withstand the far-sounding echo of facts, there still seems to be no twisting of facts, no defamation, which over there is considered as too thin and too ridiculous by the press and as too shameless by the public.

Should the Germans, who since they fought for and attained their national unity, have exclusively devoted themselves to works of peace and culture, suddenly have been transformed into an adventurous, booty-hungry horde which from mere lust challenged a tremendously superior force to do battle? Should they suddenly have sacrificed to their so-called militarism all their other efforts in commerce, industry, art and science, in order to risk their very existence for the love of this Moloch? Do you believe that, Americans?

Our militarism! What does this expression, quoted until it is sickening, mean in the mouth of enemies who in regard to the energy and extent of their armaments were not behind us? Is there no such thing as militarism in France and in Russia?

Is the English giant fleet an instrument of peace? Was the Triple Entente founded in order to bring into being the millennium on earth? Would it, if we had been foolish enough to disarm, as a reward for being good have guaranteed our possessions? Do you believe that, Americans?

It certainly may be difficult for the citizens of the Union—happy beings they are for it—to place themselves into the position of a nation that knows it is surrounded on its open borders by jealous, hateful and greedy neighbors; of a country that for centuries has been the battlefield of all European wars, the place of strife of all the European peoples. They, the members of a nation which for itself occupies a space nearly as large as Europe, almost half of a continent, protected on both sides by the ocean and on the other borders not seriously threatened for as long a time to come as may be anticipated, have no people's army because they do not need any; and yet they would—their history proves it—give their blood and that of their sons for the cause of their nation just as gladly as we, if the necessity for doing so came to them. Will they, therefore, reproach us for loving our country not less than they do theirs, only for the reason that we have a thousand times more difficulty in protecting it?

Our general military service, which to-day is being defamed by the word "militarism" is born of the iron commandment of self-preservation. Without it the German empire and the German nation, long ago would have been struck out of the list of the living. Only lack of knowledge or intentional misconception of our character could accuse us of having an aggressive motive lack of it. On earth there is no more peaceful nation than the German, providing it is left in peace and its room to breathe is not lessened. Germany never has in the least had the thought of assuming for herself the European hegemony, much less the rulership of the world. She has never greedily eyed colonial possessions of other great powers. On the contrary, in the acquisition of her colonies she was satisfied with whatever the others had left for her. And least of all did she carry up her sleeve a desire of extending the frontiers of the Empire. The famous word of Bismarck, that Germany was "saturated" with acquired territory, is still accepted as fully in force to such an extent that even in case of her victory the question which parts of the enemies' territory we should claim for our own would cause us a great deal of perplexity. The German Empire could only lose as the national state she is in strength and unity by acquiring new and strange elements.

If it had been different, would the Empire from the day of its founding until now, for nearly half a century, actually have avoided every war, often enough under the most difficult circumstances? Would it have quietly suffered the open or hidden challenges, the machinations of its enemies constantly appearing more plainly, yes, would it have tried again and again to improve its relations to these very same enemies by the greatest advances? As opposed to the ill-concealed hostility of the French, would it not have been shaken in its steadfast policy of conciliation by the fact that this policy with them only made the impression of weakness and fear? Would it have permitted France to reconstruct her power destroyed in 1870, to a greater extent than before and in addition allowed her to conquer a new and gigantic colonial empire? Would it have permitted prostrate Russia to undisturbedly recuperate from the almost annihilating blows of the Revolution and the Japanese war? Would it, in the countless threatening conflicts of the last decades, every time have thrown the entire weight of its sword into the scales for the preservation of peace?

Then, too, many Americans emphasize that they are not making the German people responsible for this war, but only and alone the German Emperor. It is hardly conceivable how serious-minded people can lend themselves to the spreading of a fable so childish. When William II., twenty-nine years old, mounted the throne, the entire world said about him that his

aim was the acquirement of the laurels of war. In spite of this for twenty-six years he has shown that this accusation was absurd and has proven himself to be the most honest and most dependable protector of European peace, yes, the very circle of enemies which now dares to call him a military despot thirsting for glory, has year in and year out ridiculed him as a ruler, the provocation to the very blood of whom was an amusement absolutely fraught with no danger. He who has never been misled by the fiery enthusiasm of youth nor by the full strength of ripe manhood to adorn his brow with the bloody halo of glory, now when his hair is turned gray should have suddenly turned into a Caesar, an Attila? Do you believe that, Americans?

It is a fact, in times of peace there have been certain differences of opinion between the Emperor and his people. Although at all times the honesty of his intentions was elevated above every doubt, the one or other impulsive move he took to obtain their realization exposed him to criticism at home. To-day one may safely admit that; to-day, when of these trifling disputes not even a breadth, not even a shadow, remains. Never before has his whole people, his whole nation, in every grade of education, in all classes, in all parties, stood behind him so absolutely without reserve as now, after he in the last, the very last hour, driven by direct need, finally drew the sword to ward off an attack from three sides, long ago prepared.

Our nation and our Emperor have not wanted this war and are not to be blamed for it. Even the White Book of the German Government, by the very uncontrovertible language of its documents, must convince every impartial being of this fact. And day by day the overwhelming evidence of the plot, systematically hatched and systematically carried out under the guidance of England, which put before us the alternative of cutting our way through or being annihilated, is increasing.

It may be that the catastrophe, so far as we are concerned, once more might have been staved off if we would have disregarded the obligation of our alliance and would have left Austria in the lurch, the Austria which did not want anything else than to put a stop to the nasty work of a band of assassins organized by a neighboring state. But it requires a great degree of political blindness for the assumption that by such cowardly treason we would have been able to purchase a change of mind or a lasting peace from our enemies. On the contrary they soon enough would have used a suitable opportunity to fall upon Germany, which then would be completely isolated, and the struggle for our national existence would have had to be fought under conditions very much more favorable to our enemies.

According to a newspaper report, most greatly esteemed President Eliot of Harvard has written, that the fear of the Muscovites could not explain our action and that an alliance with the Western powers would have offered better protection against a Russian attack. Yes, if such a thing had been possible! As a matter of fact, however, the Western powers did not ally themselves with us against Russia, but with Russia against us, and not the fear of the Muscovites drove us to war, but their *mobilization, encouraged and aided by the very same Western powers*. I wonder what President Eliot himself would have done under these circumstances, had he been the responsible guardian of Germany's fate?

But then the violation of Belgian neutrality! How with the aid of this bugaboo the entire neutral world has been stirred up against us, after England made it the hypocritical excuse for her declaration of war! We knew very well that England and France were determined to violate this neutrality; but then we should have been very good and we should have waited until they *did so!* wait until their armies would break into our country across our unprotected Belgian frontier! In other words, we should commit national suicide. Who even up until now has doubted the German assertion that Belgium, together with England and France, was under one cover and herself had thrown away her neutrality, must have his eyes opened by the latest

official developments. The documents of the Belgian General Staff, which have fallen into our hands, contain an agreement according to which the march through Belgium of British troops in the case of a German-French war was provided for in all details. Whosoever in the face of this document repeats the assertion that we have committed a violation of innocent Belgium places himself into the service of a historical forgery.

We have violated the *alleged* neutrality of Belgium in self-defense. On the other hand, the Japanese, egged on and supported by England, have violated the real neutrality of China from pure lust for robbery. For the three great powers allied against Germany and Austria have not been satisfied with their own nominal superiority of 220 millions against 110 millions! In addition to this they have urged on into war against us a Mongolian people, the most dangerous enemy of the white race and of the culture of the white race. They have supplemented their armies by a motley collection of all the African Negro tribes. They lead into battle against us Indian troops, and the Christian Germanic King of England prays to God for the victory of the heathen Hindoos over his coreligionists and blood relatives. Americans, does your racial feeling, at other times so sensitive, remain silent in view of this unexampled shame? Do you accord to the English and the French, who are attacking us in unison with the Russians, the Servians and the Montenegrians, who are dirtying themselves with a brotherhood in arms with the yellowskins, the brownskins and the blacks, the right to declare themselves the representatives of civilization and us to be barbarians?

In order to drive home such evident absurdities, they were of course obliged to carry on the poisoning of the spring of information to the utmost, they had to suppress the news of the vile deeds of guerrillas and "snipers" in Belgium and of the Russian ghouls in East Prussia, that were crying to Heaven, and to send out into the world instead fables of German brutality. Our national army, permeated with ethical seriousness and iron discipline, wherein the scientist stands alongside of the farmer, the workman and the artist, should be guilty of unnecessary severity, uncontrollable brutality, brutality against people unable to defend themselves? Do you believe that, Americans?

The climax of absurdity, however, is reached when the Germans, who in their love and appreciation of art are not surpassed by any people in the world, are accused of having raged as vandals against works of art. Even now these accusations, which the French Government itself had the pitiful courage to support, have proven totally groundless. The City Hall at Louvain stands uninjured; while the populace fired at them, our soldiers have, risking their own lives, saved it from the flames. An Imperial art commission followed our victorious troops in Belgium on the heel, in order to take charge of the guarding and administration of the treasures of art. The Cathedral at Rheims has received but slight damage, and would not have been

damaged at all had its tower not been misused by the French as an observation station. I would like to see the commander of an army who, for the sake of the safety of a historical monument, would forget the safety of the troops entrusted into his care!

Enough of it! What I have stated is sufficient to show what low weapons our enemies are using behind the battlefield to sully Germany's shield of honor. It is enough for those who care to listen at all. But also wherever the weak voice of one rebounds from ears stubbornly closed, the more powerful voice of truth eventually will force a more just verdict.

Justice—that is all that we expect from America. We respect its neutrality; we do not ask from it an ideal partisanship for our benefit. If it does not have for us the sympathy which we have already extended to it and, after a century and a half of unclouded intercourse between the two nations, have anticipated there, then we cannot imbue it with that spirit by reasoning. Furthermore, in the existence of nations sympathy is not the deciding factor, and every nation should be rebuked which out of regard for sympathy, in decisive points would act against its own interests. But just for that very reason one more question must be raised. In the present conflict which momentarily almost splits the entire world into two camps, where do the interests of America lie?

That they are not lying on the side of Russia, probably is self-evident. No free American can find desirable a further extension of the Russian world empire and of Russian despotism at the expense of Germany. But how about a country from which once America had to wrest its own liberty in bloody battle? How about England? Where, if England should succeed in downing Germany, would her eyes next be pointed? Has she not herself admitted that she is making war on us principally because she sees in us an uncomfortable competitor in trade? And which competitor would be the next one after us that would become awkward to the trust on the Thames? Yes, have they not already hauled off for the smash against America, when Japan is given opportunity to threateningly increase her power? The same Japan with which America sooner or later will be bound to have an accounting and whose victory over us would make that accounting a great deal more difficult for the United States?

Germany's fate certainly does not depend upon the friendly or unfriendly feeling of America. It will solely and alone be decided upon the European battlefields. But for the reason that we are looking out from the night to a future dawn, for the reason that in the midst of our national need the cause of humanity is close to our heart, for that reason it is not immaterial to us how the greatest neutral nation of culture thinks of us. Americans, the cable between us has been cut. It is our wish and our hope that the stronger band that unites American ideals with German ideals shall not also be cut.

The German Sailor Has "Arrived"

England received the first substantial evidence that Germany's "toy navy" was a dangerous institution when the now famous *U-9* sank four of Great Britain's proud warships with a facility that startled the world. It inaugurated a new epoch in naval warfare, like that which was ushered in by Erickson when he constructed the *Monitor*.

The destruction of the *Aboukir*, the *Hogue*, the *Cressy* and the *Hawk* in the turn of a hand marked the entry of the German sailor into the history of naval warfare.

Within a few weeks the German navy showed what it could do in the open, when the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* sank Admiral Craddock's squadron off the coast of South America without receiving any damage.

Our front page presents a picture of the crew of the *U-9* under its gallant commander Captain Weddigen. If the results here enumerated had been accomplished by a British squadron, the New York Allied press would have printed memorial editions to commemorate the event.

ENGLISH BARBARISM

By Hans F. Kammeyer

(Throughout the English papers published both here and abroad there is constant comment upon the so-called "German atrocities." From even the English we have the evidence that Britishers who happened to be in Germany at the outbreak of the war and those who are still there were treated with consideration and justice. The following account of how the Germans living in England have been degraded and how terribly they are still being persecuted, will be of interest to those who have read only the other side. The fact that five Germans held in one of the concentration camps near London were executed only recently because they protested against the vile "food" given them will no doubt be a shock to the many believers of British fair-play.)

EVER since the ravages of the present war made themselves felt in all their terrible effects, a generous press in the United States made it its special task incessantly to keep before the eyes of an equally generous American public the sufferings of the countless British, French and Belgian families who through the loss of their bread-winners were dependent on the support of their fellow-beings.

Not one voice has been raised, however, to bring before the world's forum the case of the German population in England, a case which, as we shall show, is so full of tragedy that in comparison with it all others sink into insignificance.

The following prefatory remarks will enable the outside neutral world to arrive at a clear understanding of the real, infinite gravity of the situation.

As a general statement it is no exaggeration to say that since the outbreak of the war, the German has come to be considered a pariah by the great majority of the British. No means has been found bad enough to eliminate him as a factor in the universal, or at least in the English life, yea, if possible to extirpate him—which in itself is regarded as an act pleasing in the eyes of God for the greater glory of the supreme British Civilization!

All circles, statesmen, most of them notorious demagogic type, savants, authors, business men, laborers, all united in an organized campaign to preach, with only a few dissenting voices, the gospel of fury against everything German.

What amounted to nothing less than a fierce, savage cry for a Holy War was raised all over the country: "NEVER AGAIN" was their noble, inspiring slogan. "NEVER AGAIN" will we shake hands with a German! "NEVER AGAIN" will we buy, use, employ, "NEVER AGAIN" hear, read, sing or think of anything German! True—they argued—it is the Kaiser, the Junkers, the Prussian Militarism that caused this war; but the German people suffered them to exist and to wage war. And what a war, with all these shocking atrocities, according to the newspapers, at any rate! Therefore: "Swat the Teuton." Not only Kaiser, Junkers and Army must be annihilated and the German navy be "handed over to England," so that Britain may continue to rule the waves, to more and more effective exclusion of all the others, but every German unit, every German individual must be made to feel the wrath of the God of Britain! And why not start right here at home, in London, in England, Scotland, Ireland, where we have nearly 30,000 of these "bestial Huns," most of them spies anyhow, at our mercy? This is how this program, more worthy of their swarthy, yellow and "boomerang" confederates, was carried out.

The first and simplest step towards eradication of the hated foe was to deprive the Germans in their power of all chance to earn a livelihood. Dismiss the German clerk, the maid, the housekeeper! Don't frequent a hotel where German waiters serve you! Don't patronize German butchers, shopkeepers, mechanics, electricians, and their goods! Force out the German Manager and Director on the boards of your Companies. Even dismiss German children from the schools, seminaries and Pensions, and close the German convents! In short, starve the Ger-

mans out of existence. Let them perish—what of them! Every child that dies in the arms of a German mother is one "Alien Enemy" less! That is not in the category of atrocities, not violation of neutrality of the non-combatant. No, that is work necessary to secure victory for British culture! Let us Britishers fill their places, let us do their work, grasp their wages, salaries, incomes, dividends, and stop their bank accounts—don't you know they might be used "to promote war on the King!"

The most convenient levers to dislodge, squeeze and force out the Germans in a systematic yet "legal" manner were the "Royal Orders in Council," promulgated at the rate of about two every week. While by them most coast towns were altogether prohibited for Germans, so that their shops and business were peremptorily closed and families banished and left to look after themselves, Police Registration was made compulsory for all Germans and Austro-Hungarians in London and other districts. How efficiently this Registration Act worked and how humanely it was applied, according to the notions of British Culture, is best illustrated by the following actual example:

A well-to-do manufacturer, Mr. H. Curtis Duntz, the son of a German and a resident of London ever since his emigration from the Fatherland nearly forty years ago when still a small boy, reported himself in the company of a friend, a chief clerk of the London County Council, for registration at one of the police stations. The inspector-registrar considered his registration, however, unnecessary in view of Mr. Duntz's explanation that, though never formally naturalized, he had always regarded himself a Briton. He showed that he had never had any military or business connections with Germany nor relatives there, and that he was even unable to speak German. Thus the registration law was not obeyed in his case, a fact which was not concealed. When now, a day or two later, non-fighting men were wanted for duty as Special Police Constables, Mr. Duntz offered his services, but under the name of "Curtis," leaving out the "Duntz," according to subsequent evidence for the truly German reason that "Duntz" appeared to him too much like "dunce"! Investigation of his record for the purpose of this appointment then revealed the fact that he, a German, had failed to register. No explanation availed. The magistrate held that the onus of registration was upon him, not on the police inspector-registrar. This was clearly a most serious case—an example must be established for these Germans! And despite the intercession of the friend from the London City administration and of another magistrate vouching for the German's reputation, the punishment inflicted was: Six months hard labor, £100 fine and "Recommendation for Deportation," i. e., imprisonment for the time of the war and then deprivation of a living in England. Result: The man was ruined, his family ruined, his business ruined, ready for the British competitor to pick it up!

The instance cited here of direct, outrageous discrimination is not by any means an isolated one. In every thinkable respect the Germans had, and still have, to feel the severity not of the law but of their outlawry. Protection of the law impresses the world so well on paper, and so long as the law is guaranteed

on paper, the nations outside are so easily convinced that it exists for all alike, even for the "Alien Enemies." In practice your amiable police inspector and magistrate gives the printed letter his own interpretation:

"Six months hard labor or £100—or both," according to the "Royal Order in Council" for—

The German "who is found in possession of a telephone"—no matter whether he is a partner in a business, shop or house dependent for an existence on a telephone connection;

The German "who is found in possession of fire arms"—though he might have presented his old rabbit rifle immediately on the outbreak of the war to his old coachman; why—six months for the coachman, too, for "aiding and abetting";

The German "who is found outside five miles from his residence"—irrespective of whether the location of his office or his legitimate business compelled him to overstep the legal limit. Of course, "police permits" were provided for by the circumspet law, but rarely and only after fulfilment of onerous, vexing formalities were they obtainable for a business man, and scarcely ever for a penniless, destitute German who might wish to find employment in other localities.

The "Five-Mile Restriction" is especially calculated to make a German's life in Britain a veritable hell on earth. Any time of the day or night policemen, "specials," or detectives will visit houses where Germans are known to be living; at any moment you may be stopped ad lib in the street or on the high-road and be asked for the Certificate of Registration or the Special Permit, containing thumb-print and photograph. A motley crowd is never slow to collect anywhere in the United Kingdom, and the large unemployed population is nowadays deeply thankful for the opportunity to hiss and threaten any inoffensive German, notably in London where now the Allies, the East End Hooligan, the French Refugee and the Jap hold supreme sway.

Yet, there are neutrals who may hold that all these harsh restrictions and extra-legal imposts on the Germans are perfectly comprehensible, even necessary—*c'est la guerre!* No doubt, it is the war that made these special laws, probably for no other reason than panicky fear of the large number of "Alien Enemies" within their borders.

However, people inclined to support these laws, unless they are bereft of all sense of fairness—not Fairness, the highly polished English counterfeit coin pawned off on all the world—will at least concede this: Nothing under Heaven justifies the ruthless, inhuman cruelties which were and are continually perpetrated, with cold blood and calculation, on the non-combatant Germans and Austro-Hungarians, especially those of the poorer classes, who could not leave England after the declaration of the war or were captured, since, in vessels brought in from abroad.

All men of military age were at once segregated and interned in Concentration Camps. They were protected as prisoners-of-war according to international usage. It was not the men-in-arms, but the babes-in-arms they sought to persecute, the children, women, young and old, and all the white-haired old men who were left behind. In the treatment of these innocent people on whom rests not a vestige of blame for the war and its horrors, the much-vaunted British superiority in their stock-in-trade, humanitarianism, showed itself in its stark nakedness!

Visitors from France, England and the States have a habit of deriding the German policeman and his methods. He provides a topic which, duly distorted, lends itself par excellence to exploitation in a campaign against Militarism and Prussianism. What overwhelming material could a clever juggler of words, however, collect behind the sinister, well-guarded walls of the police stations of Britain, for a brilliant plea against Navyism and "Britannia Rules the Waves." But the great public does not know and is not invited to look through these police court walls. For it goes against the English grain to show their true nature,

their inborn brutality, in public. Officially, all is tolerance, generosity, fair-mindedness, but what is there to be found unofficially? It matters little—such a trifle as the life of a German woman or child! They don't speak English, they cannot tell of their sufferings, or if they can, intimidation goes a long way to shut their mouths.

Deprived of the protecting arms of their men, these unhappy non-combatants are now deliberately left to their fate. Brave German and Austrian women, haggard and fainting from exposure and anxiety, can be seen dragging along their starving little ones. Blue children's eyes look wistfully up into yours, wondering why they must suffer all this; why father and brother were taken away nobody knows where; why baby, mother and grandfather have no house and no bed to lay their tired heads on; nothing to eat since yesterday when the kindly German pastor, now arrested "for assisting the enemy," told them not to make the long journey again, as he had no more soup, no more bed tickets to give them.

Too proud and too frightened to beg, the weary throng pushes slowly on to the next station in their grim pilgrimage, the police office. Only grandfather has been left behind, broken down by the church wall where one of his countrymen, himself near starvation, takes pity on him.

Glowering, malignant looks receive them inside the police court gates where they are huddled together in rain and squalor. In rough, abrupt accents which one is supposed to expect only of the military Berlin "Schutzmann," the English police officer orders them about like cattle: "Wotyerwant?" Can he suggest any help? "No! See the inspector!" The inspector in charge appears. "Who are these?" Germans, sir. Want assistance! "What, assistance? The police court ain't no benevolent institution! Why should we help you Germans, anyhow? If you are destitute: To the workhouse, all of you!"

Shrieking with horror they flee. On to the street, back into the gutter, to the parks with the dripping benches and the wet grass, until they are shut out there, too, at midnight. And then! Numb with exhaustion, beaten, defeated, in bottomless despair, they return the only way, to the police and thence, to consummate their doom, to the English Poorhouse.

There is no God in Heaven if swift and terrible vengeance is not wreaked on the nation who authorized and committed these numberless crimes against humanity! Justice has never yet stood by with her sword sheathed while defenseless human beings whose protection should have been a sacred trust were first driven from their homes and hearths and then calmly, brutally delivered to their destruction.

Let us be silent in future when they speak of British civilization and let us remember the thousands of German and Austrian women and children whose wretched fate calls aloud for instant and universal succor!

I know, of course, that Americans have been looking upon Germany through English eyes, and have considered it only as a nation which has unduly exalted militarism at the expense of everything else. We level the objection of Germany that she is nothing but a collection of soldiers; but there is another side to the question of militarism, recognized by Ruskin, the lover of peace.

"All the great and noble arts of peace," he says, "are founded on war; no great art ever yet was born on earth but amongst a nation of soldiers. There is no art among a shepherd people, if it remains at peace."

Considering what German civilization has been and what it is, considering the strength and growth of the Church in Germany, considering the character of the German people, we cannot but pray that, for the sake of the world, no matter what the outcome of this war, civilization may not suffer; with all its other losses, the impetus that German hearts, German strength and German intelligence can continue to give to the cause of religion and progress.

THE FATHERLAND

Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary

Edited by
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A weekly published and owned by The International Monthly, 1123 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, Farragut 9777. Cable Address, Viereck, New York. President, George Sylvester Viereck; Vice-President, Joseph Bernard Rethy; Treasurer, M. Binion; Secretary, Curt H. Reisinger. Terms of Subscription, including postage, in the United States and Mexico, \$2.00 per year. In Canada, \$2.25 per year; \$1.25 for six months. Subscription to all foreign countries within the postal union, \$2.25 per year. Single copies, 5 cents. Newsdealers and Agents throughout the country supplied by The International News Company. Manuscripts, addressed to the Editor, if accompanied by return postage, and found unavailable, will be returned. The Editor, however, accepts no responsibility for unsolicited contributions.

European Representative, Louis Viereck, Suedwestkorsö 8, Berlin-Friedenau.

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When you have finished reading this number, don't lay it aside, but pass it on to your friends who may be anxious to know the other side of the great European conflict.

THE KING OF THE JEWS.

IN a proclamation to his troops, the Commander in Chief of the Russian army has declared that Emperor Francis Joseph has ceased to be the ruler of Austria-Hungary and is now the King of the Jews; it is against the latter that the Russians shall fight a Holy War.

Emperor Francis Joseph undoubtedly would deserve the appointment (as a matter of fact Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary is also King of Jerusalem), and the Jews will perhaps confirm it, because he, who ever since his accession to the throne has greatly promoted the cause of the chosen people, is to-day called upon to care for the sufferers and is determined to afford them his help and protection.

The Czar's proclamation was meant to be a sneer, but the action of the Russian authorities has made it a sad honor for the venerable old monarch.

In another manifesto the Czar had promised the Jews in Russia to grant them the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by his other subjects; considering what these rights and privileges are, it was not promising them much, yet it meant a notable improvement for the Jews. How has this promise been fulfilled? It has been forgotten; it was issued in the first days of the war, when fears were entertained as to a possible outbreak of the ever impending revolution in Russia. Now that the soldiers have joined their units and stand in the field, the comedy gives way to the Russian sense of tragedy.

News from Galicia reaches us giving an appalling account of the persecutions which the Jews have to endure at the hands of the Czar's armies.

Under date of September 23rd, the following telegram was addressed to the American Jewish Committee of New York:

"As a consequence of the war several tens of thousands of families, among them a great many Jews, have fled from the provinces temporarily occupied by the Russians. Though the Governments are taking action, the funds at our disposal are not sufficient as the charity institutions of this country are overburdened. We appeal to the generosity of the Americans for help, and also for assistance to the Austrian Red Cross. We feel all the more confident of your sympathy as Austria's war is also the war for obtaining human rights for our oppressed brethren in Russia. Send money through the Embassy. Signed: Israelitic Alliance of Vienna."

An official dispatch received on October 31st, informed the Austro-Hungarian Consul-General that Russian agents in Bukovina spread an appeal purporting to come from Russian Orthodox peasants and requesting their peasant brethren on the other side of the Pruth to welcome with open arms the Russian soldiers who would distribute cattle and corn among them. The appeal bids the peasants to slay the Austrian gendarmes and Jews like mad dogs.

In another dispatch received on November 2nd, and describing the beastly behavior of the Russians in the reoccupied Bukovinian district, it is stated that they pillaged houses, ravished women, and executed people without any reason.

On November 13th, the following dispatch was received here:

"The Jewish Member of Parliament, Mr. Reizes, requests to publish under his responsibility in American papers the following news: The merchant Trautener, who fled from Lemberg on October 10th, reports that the Russians on September 29th, started without any provocation, a Pogrom. Soldiers shot Jews, 14 dead, 38 wounded. Rabbi Brande dragged along the streets. Prayers in celebration of Yom Kipur forbidden. Jewish dwellings looted, stores plundered. In other cities of Galicia and Bukovina, Russians likewise committed murders, cruelties, violations on women. Jewish population's despair indescribable."

The *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* of November 19th, gives a vivid account of the occupation of Bukovina by the Russians which lasted less than two months. The information is warranted by a gentleman who returned from Czernowitz to Hungary and contains, among others, the following news:

"It should be specially mentioned that the Greek-Oriental Archbishop, Dr. Wladimir von Repta, pluckily took a most energetic stand against the Russian Governor. Bills were posted in the streets inciting the Russian soldiers to organize a pogrom against the Jews. The Archbishop sheltered the Jews, whose lives were threatened, in his residence, where they also were allowed to bring in safely the holy treasures of their church. When the Governor, calling him to account for these measures, asked him what was his true religion, the Archbishop replied: 'I am a servant of God the Almighty; He does not discriminate between His creatures and will practice the same justice to all, rewarding the good and punishing the evil.'"

Many other reports have come to hand, all depicting the untold of cruel treatment to which the Jews are being subjected by the Russians. Were the facts widely circulated, not only the Jews in America, but the masses of benevolent citizens, who generously contribute to other funds, would certainly assist the Austro-Hungarian Government in their endeavor to alleviate the sufferings of the poor persecuted Jews, the more so as about 120,000 Russian Jews have left their homes, seeking safety in Austria. The readers of American papers have certainly not forgotten the elaborate accounts of this country's press on the subject of pogroms which kept the world in suspense until quite recently. Kisheneff and Byalostock! To mention these two cities is to recall the wanton massacre of harmless Jews. The bloodstained criminals have, alas, temporarily crossed the Russian border and the "Black Hundred" have thus been enabled to extend their rule of terror, murder and pillage to provinces which had hitherto enjoyed the blessings of civilization.

We feel bound to mention here that the very papers which could, but a few months ago, not write enough about the pogroms, which have horrified the world with their descriptions of that cursed Russian institution, have declined to publish any of the news relating to the persecution of the Jews by the Czar's soldiery. The information was sent them, but they seem to obey to a "mot d'ordre," received from unknown, but certainly powerful quarters, to suppress the news. Apparently it pays better now to keep silent!

We are compelled to charge the pro-Allies papers with assuming the responsibility of keeping the truth from their readers. Publicity has, so far, been denied to the cries of Jewish victims for help. It is to be sincerely hoped that the sensible public will confound the "silencers" and their associates by sending in their much needed contributions for the relief of the Galician and Bukovinian Jews.

ALSACE-LORRAINE AND IRELAND

By James K. McGuire

Most Americans have sympathized with France in the loss of her provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, as the result of the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. This sentiment is worthy, but is not founded on material grounds today, because the record shows that this detached territory is far more prosperous under German administration. In forty years the population of Alsace-Lorraine has nearly tripled, and produces a vast amount of grain, tobacco, iron and coal, and with an area of only 5,580 square miles, one-sixth the area of Ireland, is a veritable bee-hive of cotton, woolen, silks and chemical industries.

Contrast the state of Alsace-Lorraine with that of mis-governed Ireland, where the population of the latter country is today only one-third of the number of people living in Ireland seventy years ago.

While English rule has been draining the life-blood of Ireland, leaving only the remnants of a people, this little territory along the banks of the Rhine has gone forward by leaps and bounds, with the people so contented that sentiment altogether throughout the province has steadily changed in favor of Germany, and the Alsations have furnished their full quota of soldiers for the Fatherland. Ireland, too, has iron and coal, and could manufacture cotton, wool and silks, but it is not for the commercial interest of England to have an industrial Ireland. She must always be confined under the British Empire to remain an agricultural spot, a rear garden to supply food for England.

The district of Alsace-Lorraine contains the same percentage of Roman Catholics as Ireland, about 76%. The beautiful Rhine flows all along its borders, filled with vessels carrying commerce of the province to the world. The River Shannon of Ireland is as grand and as beautiful, but you may go along its shores for days and never see a sail. The land along the Shannon is as rich and fertile as the lands on the banks of the Rhine. The harbors of the German river are no safer or deeper. For every \$128 owned by an Irishman, the Alsation possesses \$915. The farmer of these annexed German provinces can sell the products of his farm to any country of the world on the same basis as any other province or colony of the German Empire. The Irish farmer must market his cattle and farm products through English ports alone. If he has cows or sheep to sell on the Continent he must first ship them to England, divide the profit with the middleman there, and take what is left. It was this infamous method of trade suppression that led to the successful revolution of the American Colonists who rebelled against laws which required American farmers to ship their products through English market channels.

Germany removed from the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine unjust, artificial checks, and protected, rather than discouraged, the industries of her new provinces, which has steadily weakened the old attachment for France, despite the differences in language, tradition, religion and customs.

The provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, with little more than one-half the population of Ireland, has sent 104,000 troops to the front in France for Germany, whereas, up to the 10th of October, scarcely 10,000 recruits had been secured in all of Ireland.

In Ireland the people are not let know the extent of the German victories on land and sea, lest the knowledge would interfere with the extraordinary methods of securing recruits for the British armies. The Home Rule Bill, signed by King George, to be amended by Ulster and to go into effect after the war, is the recruiting bait. Economic pressure will never permit Ireland to become a near commercial competitor of England, the latter congested, 38,000,000 of people on a small island, cannot afford to have Ireland manufacture the same line of goods. She must be confined to the products of the soil, to linens (fine

Hence a Home Rule measure which expressly prohibits Ireland from foreign commerce save through the British Parliament.

The Parliamentary Party is called Nationalist—a misnomer. 'Tis a far cry, hearkened back to a century, from Mr. Redmond's purely local measure, installing his followers in the offices expected through the execution of the bill, to the dying request of Robert Emmet forbidding his countrymen to write his epitaph until Ireland should have become a free Nation.

Who knows in the fulness of time but that Germany and Destiny will write Emmet's epitaph?

Since concluding the foregoing words the glad tidings for Nationalist Ireland comes over the seas by electric sparks, from Berlin, via wireless, the message which will ring around the world wherever patriots are found. The German Government, through the Imperial Chancellor, repudiates the false charge of John Redmond that the Germans are coming to Ireland to pillage and destroy like the Huns and Vandals.

And the Imperial Chancellor and German Foreign Office go further and make authoritatively the noblest and most momentous declaration ever read by friends of Ireland when Germany proclaims to the world National Freedom for Ireland "if fortune should bring her troops to Irish shores," in the words of the Imperial Chancellor.

May God speed the mark and day will be the prayer from many fervent hearts!

HELP THE GERMANS IN CANADA—ALIENS IN THEIR OWN LAND

Arthur v. Briesen Shows How.

THE unhappy lot of the Germans residing in Canada grows daily more acute. They are looked upon by their neighbors as enemies, discharged from their positions, ostracised by all, and prevented from earning a living. What is to become of these unfortunate people? Arthur V. Briesen in the following letter to the Secretary of State points out what can be done and what he and his associates are already doing:

New York, Nov. 13, 1914.

To the Honorable Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.:
Sir: It appears from letters received by me from Canada that there are a large number of German and Austrian subjects in that country who are at the present time looked upon as public enemies, and that many of them are now in great need and are suffering from lack of food and also from lack of employment, as it is regarded as treasonable to employ any one belonging to those nationalities.

During the preceding years Canada has sought German immigrants mainly for her agricultural development. Many came in good faith and obtained satisfactory employment, some even acquiring little farms and other property. Now their position is very difficult and to an extent, I believe, fraught with danger.

As the United States have undertaken to protect the citizens or subjects of Germany and of Austria who may be in England or in her possessions, its Consulates might perhaps be called upon, if you approve, to extend such protection as may be lawful and proper to these people. It is suggested, and I believe correctly so, that since many of these Germans and Austrians are not acquainted with the English language, a German-speaking official of our Government might be attached to the Consul General's office in Ottawa, so that at least one of our representatives would be able to understand their complaints and their needs.

I therefore respectfully suggest that measure be taken in some proper and apt manner to extend protection to Germans and Austrians in Canada, and, if need be, also to help where help is found necessary. If they were permitted to come to the United States they might find work and sustenance in our midst. When individual cases requiring financial or other particular aid are brought to the attention of your Consul or Consul General they might be reported either to Jacob H. Schiff of 52 William Street, or to Edmund Pavenstedt of Muller, Schall & Co., 45 William Street, both of New York City, who might then apply to some of the relief funds that are being raised in New York and in other parts of the United States for special assistance in such cases. If such reports should also come to me I shall be very glad to do my utmost in the same direction.

Very respectfully, ARTHUR V. BRIESEN.

THE IRON CROSS

By Frederick H. Martens

AYE, with a yellow ribbon-band
 And a cross of British tin
 They think to mock the Iron Cross
 That men dare all to win;
 Nor heed the scorn of Nelson mute,
 High in Trafalgar Square,
 The man who never fought a foe
 But what he fought him fair!

The tears and blood of sacrifice,
 For them the Cross doth stand,
 They tie it to the mangy curs
 That run along the Strand;
 The horses of the busmen show,
 As through the streets they fare
 The gift the Fatherland bestows
 For deeds beyond compare.

Yet though the jeering rabble throng
 The streets of London Town,
 And flaunt their mock of tin for steel
 Their fear they may not down;
 And they'll recall when Zeppelins
 Rise o'er the Channel haze
 The motto of the Iron Cross:
 "God with us: His the praise!"

BELGIUM'S BREACH OF NEUTRALITY

IT was not Germany who violated the neutrality of Belgium but it was Belgium herself who made a breach in the paper wall upon which she counted for her protection. The moral indignation with which the entrance of German troops into Belgium was utilized by England to create ill-feeling against Germany in the neutral countries undergoes a clear elucidation, remarks the official *North German Gazette*, through certain documents which the German army administration discovered in the archives of the Belgian General Army Staff in Brussels.

From the contents of a portfolio which bears the title, "Intervention Anglaise en Belgique"—English Intervention in Belgium—we quote literally—

"It is clear that as early as 1906 the dispatch of an English expeditionary force to Belgium, in case of a Franco-German war, had been arranged for. According to a report dated April 10, 1906, the chief of the Belgian general army staff, in collaboration with Lieutenant Colonel Barnardiston, at that time British military attaché in Brussels, had, at the latter's instigation, in repeated conferences drawn up a detailed plan for the joint operation of an English expeditionary corps of 100,000 troops with the Belgian army against Germany. The plan was approved by the chief of the English general staff, Major General Griereson. The Belgian general army staff was furnished with all the data concerning the strength and composition of the various parts of the British army, the composition of the expeditionary corps, the ports for debarkation, together with an exact computation with regard to the time of transportation, etc. On the basis of these data the Belgian general army staff had made careful preparations for the transportation of the English troops into the Belgian line of defense, for their quartering and provisioning. The plans for this co-operation were carefully worked out to the last detail. For instance, a large number of interpreters and Belgian gendarmes were to be put at the disposal of the English forces and the necessary maps delivered to them. Even for the care of the English wounded provision had been made.

"Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne had been decided upon as the points of landing for the British troops. From there they were to be brought by Belgian railways to the line of defense. The fact that it had been decided to land those troops in French ports and transport them through French territory proves that

the English-Belgian arrangement had been preceded by an agreement with the French general army staff. Those three powers, then, had minutely determined the plans for a co-operation of the "allied armies," as they are termed in the document. The fact that a map for use in the French border mobilization was found in the secret archives also testifies to this."

When Belgium made secret treaties with the Allies she ceased to be a neutral country. New proofs of Belgian and English duplicity are being unearthed every day. Two of the most convincing are reproduced on the opposite page. In an address which he delivered in Carnegie Hall recently, Prof. Eugene Kuehnemann referred to several maps, photographs of which have recently reached this country, which show clearly that both France and England long ago made their preparations for the violation of Belgian neutrality in the shape of military operations on Belgian soil. The one on the upper part of the page was contained in a sealed package found at Sedan when that French city was occupied by German troops during the first weeks of the war. The inscription on the package reads as follows:

1909

Cartes de Mobilisation

320,000e prolonge Nord

Il est formellement interdit d'ouvrir ce paquet
 Il ne sera ouvert qu'en cas de MOBILISATION.

1909

Mobilization Maps

Scale 1 to 320,000

*It is strictly forbidden to open this package
 This package is not to be opened except in case of a
 mobilization.*

The military districts covered by the mobilization maps found in the package are Holland and Belgium. The German authorities consider the map another point of proof that a good portion of the French army would

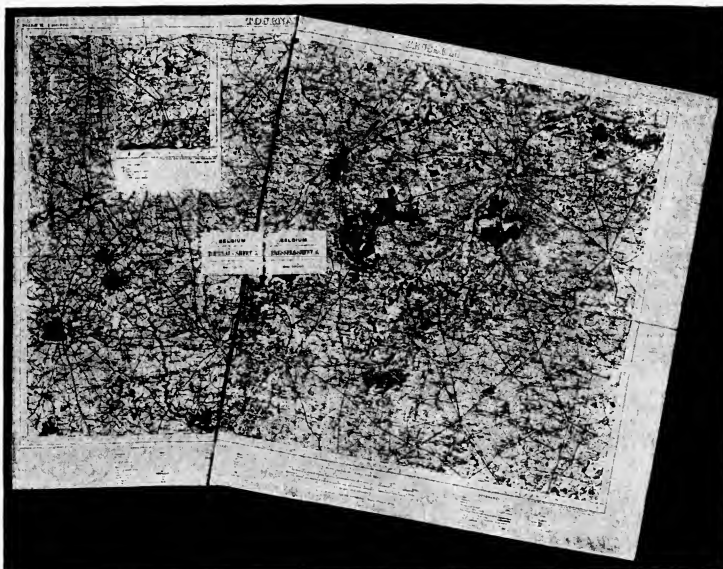
have been mobilized on Belgian soil if the German General Staff had not known of the French plans and succeeded in anticipating them. The secrecy with which the French surrounded these maps is pointed out as additional justification for this conclusion.

The other photograph is that of a map which was found in the knapsack of an English army officer wounded at Mons on August 24. It is a map of Belgium prepared, according to the inscription in the lower left-hand corner, in the Geographical Section of the British General Staff. It is a very carefully worked out military map in which every topographical feature is indicated in English, making the map available for spies, scouts and non-commissioned officers, as well as for the French-speaking officers of the General Staff. Copies of the Belgian map presuppose a connivance, to say the least, on the part of Belgium in the furnishing of such maps.

The significance of this map is that it represents a British reproduction of the secret maps of the Belgian General Staff, copies of which were discovered in Brussels after the occupation of this city by the Germans, it is held to afford additional proof of the Anglo-Belgian military convention, the existence of which was revealed by documents discovered in a secret cabinet in the Belgian War Ministry at Brussels.

It should be noted that these maps were for the use in rank and file, because officers of higher rank in the British General Staff must be supposed to know how to use maps with

topographical description also in the French language. Thus the value of these maps is one for practical warfare and not merely for purposes of studying.



"THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS"

A Chapter of Facts About England's Method of Making War.

By Frederick F. Schrader

One of the amiable fictions of which the present war has been productive is the English pretense of abhorrence and dismay over the ruthless conduct of the war by the German army. No one has yet discovered how any war can be made agreeable to the enemy. General Sherman said, "War is hell," and General Sheridan once approvingly quoted a French authority which said that the only rule of war was to leave the civil population in the enemy's country nothing but eyes to weep over the war; also to produce such a state of devastation that a crow in crossing would starve to death. But the German campaign in Belgium and France has been singled out by the virtuous press agents of Gotham as most shocking to their sensitive souls, and we have been given to understand that Great Britain has always conducted war with pathetic regard for the feelings of her enemies. This is one of the fictions that has been assiduously fostered and is quite often repeated by well-meaning individuals in this country who study the war from the headlines of the Allied New York press.

Let us hurriedly survey England's benevolent manner of conducting war. I saved a few newspaper clippings dealing with the Boer War and indiscriminately select two or three out of the supply.

The London *Standard* printed a Pretoria dispatch, dated August 9 saying: "The Boers sniped a train at Bronkhurst yesterday on the line between Pretoria and Middleburg. Two of its occupants were wounded. *In accordance with Lord Roberts' warning, all the farms were fired within a radius of ten miles.*"

This case differed entirely from the cases in Belgium. A couple of Boers fired at a military train, perfectly within their rights as warriors, and every farm house within ten miles in every direction was committed to the flames.

The following account of the sacking of Dullstroom was written by Lt. Morrison, of the Canadian Artillery, and published in the London *Truth*:

"During the trek our progress was like the old-time forays in the highlands of Scotland, two centuries ago. *We moved on from valley to valley lifting cattle and sheep, burning, looting, and turning out the women and children to sit and weep in despair beside the ruins of their once beautiful farmsteads.* It was the first touch of Kitchener's iron hand—a terrible thing to witness. We burned a track about six miles wide through those fertile valleys. The column left a trail of fire and smoke behind it that could be seen at Belfast.

"Nobody who was there will ever forget that day's work. About 7 o'clock in the morning our force seized the town after a little fight. The Boers went into the surrounding hills, and there was nobody in the town except women and children. It was a very pretty place nestling in a valley. The houses had lovely flower gardens and the roses were in bloom. The Boers drove in our outposts on the flank and began sniping the guns, and amid the row of the cannonade and the crackle of rifle fire the sacking of the place began. First there was an ominous bluish haze over the town, and then the smoke rolled up in volumes that could be seen for fifty miles away. The Boers on the hills seemed paralyzed by the sight and stopped shooting. The town was very quiet save for the roaring and crackle of the flames. *On the steps of the church a group of women and children were huddled. The women's faces were very white, but some of them had spots of red on either cheeks, and their eyes were blazing.* The troops were systematically 'looting the place over' (looting), and as they got quite thorough with each house they burned it. *As I stood looking, a woman turned to me and pathetically exclaimed: 'Oh, how can you be so cruel!' I sympathized with her and explained that it was an order and had to be obeyed. But all the same it was an extremely sad sight to see the little homes burning and the rose bushes withering up in the pretty garden, and the pathetic groups of homeless and*

distressed women and little children weeping in abject misery and despair among the smoking ruins as we rode away."

Gen. French, who is now commanding the English troops in France and sending the savage Indian tribes against the Germans was "shifted" from his command in the Boer War for barbarous warfare.

In the Boer War, as usual, England employed savages, and it was General French who sent Zulus to fight the Boers and destroy their property in the northeastern Transvaal. He also employed them as scouts, and Commander Kritzinger promptly shot them as fast as they fell into his hands. London furiously protested; "but"—quoting a London cable dispatch of the time in the American press—"the avowal that England had enlisted savages to aid in exterminating the Boers has given the nation pause. *This is not only a violation of the express pledge given by Mr. Balfour at the outset of the war, but it is contrary to all civilized usages.* None knows better than even the British in South Africa that when you put arms into the hands of the natives and send them to fight, it means that every rule of civilized warfare will be abandoned, that no quarter will be given, that the wounded will be murdered, and that other and nameless horrors will be perpetrated. . . . General French was shifted from his command in the northwestern Transvaal in consequence of sending natives against the Boers, owing to protests from the Natal government."

There is usually some one, like Bernard Shaw, to voice the agonized conscience of the British nation in a great crisis, and during the Boer War it was Henry Labouchere who, as editor of the London *Truth*, told the English to their face what they were fighting for. In Thorold's Life of Labouchere (G. P. Putnam & Sons), page 433, the following passage of the famous editor from his journal may be quoted with interest:

"When the shares of the Chartered Company were found to be unsalable rubbish 'a pretext was therefore found for making war on Lobengula and seizing Matabeleland—a pretext as transparently dishonest as the pretext for the invasion of the Transvaal. *All the circumstances showed in that case as in this, that the coup had been carefully prepared long beforehand. When the train had been laid, a quarrel was picked with the Matabele, who had entered Mashonaland at the Company's request, and they were attacked and shot down by this same Jameson while doing their best to retire in obedience to his orders. Instantly Matabeleland under the pretence that the Matabele and not the Company were the aggressors. Lobengula's savages were mowed down by thousands with Maxims. Those who were taken prisoners were killed off to save trouble. The envoys sent by the King to try and make terms were barbarously murdered.*"

In a speech on March 13, 1900, Mr. Labouchere said:

"The Boers had now been driven out of British territory, but the only terms upon which the British government would make peace were degrading to a brave and honest people, namely, the surrendering of their independence, and the blotting of their nationality out of existence."

Elsewhere the great editor said that 20,000 women and children had perished in English Concentration Camps like those in which "the protector of the weak" is now slowly murdering thousands of German and Austrian prisoners, civilians and military.

One of the most disgraceful records of infamy is that of the shooting of women and children in the Boer War by English soldiers. These helpless beings were gathered in concentration camps to the number of thousands and slowly exterminated. *The number of deaths during the month of September, 1901, was 1,964 children and 328 women. There were then 54,326 children and 38,022 women under Kitchener's tender care.* The London

Daily News of November 9 said: "The truth is that the death rate in the camps is incomparably worse than anything Africa or Asia can show. There is nothing to match it even in the mortality figures of the Indian famines, where cholera and other epidemics have to be contended with." *Reynold's Newspaper* (London) of October 20 spoke of the women and children "perishing like flies from confinement, fever, bad food, pestilential stinks and lack of nursing in these awful death traps," with a death rate of 383 out of every 1,000. And the *Sydney Bulletin* said: "The authority granted by Lord Roberts to Red Cross nurses to attend our camps had been withdrawn on the ground that all necessary measures have already been taken."

These measures met with no more ardent supporter than Winston Churchill, the present Lord of the Admiralty, who wrote to the *London Post*: "There is one way to overcome the resistance of the Boers, and that is by a prolonged process of attrition. In other words, we must kill them out so as to teach their children to love us."

How well this process succeeded is shown by the news that the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State are in open revolt under Generals Maritz, De Wet and Beyers, and the loyal troops have had to withdraw to await reinforcements.

A brief extract from a letter of President Steyn, of the Orange Free State, to Kitchener, in August, 1901, throws a strong light on English humanity: "As regards the 74,000 women and children which your Excellency asserts are maintained in the camps, it seems to me that your Excellency does not know in what a cruel manner these poor defenseless people are dragged from their homes by your Excellency's troops whilst all their possessions are destroyed by the troops. *Your Excellency's troops have not hesitated to turn their artillery on these defenseless women and children to capture them when they were fleeing with their wagons or alone, whilst your troops knew that they were only women and children, as happened only recently at Graspan on the 6th of June near Reitz, where a woman and children laager was captured and retaken by us whilst your Excellency's troops took refuge behind the women; and when reinforcements came they fired with artillery and small arms on that woman laager.* I can mention hundreds of cases of this kind," etc.

The English were no sticklers for proprieties in their warfare against the Boers, and the late Lord Roberts was hardly better than Kitchener when he issued the following proclamation in 1900, in which the destruction of houses and farms used by armed Boers—and practically all Boers were armed, because they were the military defenders of the country—was not only justified but decreed:

"No oaths will be taken on passes granted, and all the Boers will be regarded as prisoners of war. Houses in which armed Boers find shelter will be liable to razing, and farms used by the fighting Boers will be destroyed. I take this opportunity of pointing out that the means which I am compelled to adopt are the customs of war. The longer the war continues the more rigorously must they be enforced."

Let us cite a more recent instance of English inhumanity. A shipload of 352 Hindu laborers was taken to Vancouver, B. C., last May by Curdt Singh, a wealthy Hindu, who chartered the Japanese steamship "Komagata Maru" to test the Canadian immigration laws. When the "Komagata Maru" arrived at Vancouver the immigration officials informed her commander that the laborers could not land. The Hindus mutinied and the trouble was put down only after a fight with immigration officials and the Vancouver police. The steamer sailed from Vancouver for the Orient on July 23.

The fate of these poor natives is told in the *New York Sun* of November 11 last, in a letter from J. D. Williams, dated Calcutta, September 30, in part as follows:

"There has been plenty of excitement since my arrival here. The soldiers shot about 300 natives last night. They were part of a crowd who had returned from Canada on account of not being admitted there. They were marching on Calcutta to try

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and start trouble. I went out to the scene of the trouble in a motor car with a newspaper man. *There was not a line in the paper about it this morning. The English know how to govern these natives all right.*"

The Boers have only the bitterest memories of Generals French and Kitchener—"Kitchener the Butcher"; but of the same breed and characteristics as those in the new British Sea-Lord, Lord Fisher, who is described as follows by a recent writer:

"As a British delegate to the 1899 Hague Convention he startled everybody by the ruthless views about the conduct of war. No German or Frenchman of either military or naval prominence has, thank goodness, ever approached the brutality of this 'purely English' mind, for let us not forget that this quality made Fisher the successor of the Prince of Battenberg, who was accused of the lack of such a 'purely English' mind. This is what Mr. Fisher had to say when the Hague Conference tried to establish more humane methods of warfare. 'War should be made as hellish as possible. When you have to wring a chicken's neck, you don't give the chicken intervals for rest and refreshment.' When the treatment of captured submarine crews was being discussed, Lord Fisher, this 'pure' Britisher, shocked the assembly by barking: 'Submarines? If I catch any in time of war, I will string their crews up to my yard-arm.'

"This is the 'navalism,' which places captured German sailors into the bow of the 'Amphion,' while she was searching for mines, so that they might surely be killed, should anything happen. What a contrast to German navalism, which thinks of the safety of the prisoners first, before putting up a last fight, as, for instance, the auxiliary cruiser 'Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse,' did in African waters. She first transferred her captured enemies, then she went, fighting, to her certain doom. What a contrast between the brutal words of Lord Fisher and the generous action of the German commander of the 'Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse.'"

Finally, "lest we forget," let me cite a little incident from our own war of 1812, taken from Lester's "History of the United States, an incident showing that England of to-day is the same old England—that the leopard cannot change his spots:

"It is with regret that we are obliged in this war as we did in that of the Revolution, to recount so many instances of violations of faith and such frequent resorts to atrocities and massacres. The English employed and paid the Indian savages for perpetrating the shocking barbarities. During an engagement of a detachment of the American army, under Gen. Winchester, with the main body of the British army, under Col. Proctor, the American commander was taken; but his soldiers were doing their duty on the field and had a fair chance of winning the battle. Partly terrified by a threat of Col. Proctor, of letting loose the savages for another general massacre of our helpless frontier population, and influenced partly by the promise that Proctor had made, that if the Americans would surrender the frontier population should be protected, they laid down their arms as soon as they received this assurance with the order of their captive commander to surrender. The dastard liar, who professed to represent the chivalry and honor of England, turned them out for butchery unarmed. The war whoop rang on the night air, and 500 Americans were brained by the tomahawk. Most of them were young men from the best families of Kentucky. That foul treachery has never been forgotten or forgiven, and it never will be by western men."

President Madison, in his message to Congress of June 1, 1812, said: "In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain toward the United States, our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the savages on one of our extensive frontiers—a warfare which is known to spare neither age nor sex and to be distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity."

And C. Edward Lester in his History writes: "But the British name was to receive a deeper stain from another cause. From the outset one of the main reliances of Great Britain in the prosecution of the American war, was the employment of savages of the soil. This dreadful policy was clearly and fully determined on when the war began; it never was departed from; it was never modified; it was steadily persisted in to the end."

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GERMANY AND ENGLAND—THE REAL ISSUE

(From "*The Saturday Evening Post*")

As everybody knows, the trouble that led to the present world-war started in a little corner in the southeast of Europe, and it is remarkable to see how, in spite of this common knowledge, in the eyes of the world the European conflict has resolved itself into a question between Germany and England as to supremacy in Europe. Of course England claims that she went to war on account of the breach of Belgian neutrality and that she must fight to destroy the spirit of militarism that has led to such a flagrant disregard of solemn treaties, a tendency that is endangering the peace of the world and consequently must be crushed entirely. While England fosters no ill feeling whatsoever and no antagonism toward the good people of Germany, unfortunately, in order to crush militarism, led by the Emperor and the military caste, the German people will have to be destroyed as a nation, reducing what is left to the size of a subordinate Power. For this purpose England has created in her literary arsenal a special docket called German Militarism, with the works of Von Bernhardi, Treitschke, and Nietzsche as the main exhibits.

How Germany Has Kept the Peace

It is interesting to note the number of copies of the books of these three men that were sold in America before the beginning of the war. I dare say there were not twenty of the works of any one of them in the hands of Americans, outside of clubs and public libraries. Von Bernhardi is the chief witness for the prosecution. He is a retired German general of great learning, independent views, and strong personality. His book makes interesting reading. Yet he is not among the German generals in the present war, having been retired from the service just because his writings and sayings did not meet with the approval of his superiors and because his teachings were considered very extravagant. His book has excited some comment also in Germany, but it has been printed in only two editions, and certainly never more than ten thousand copies in all have been sold in our country. The book appeared in 1911, a little over two and a half years ago, and I fail to see how it can have created the feeling of militarism that is said to have been predominant in Germany for the last thirty years. I further fail to see how a book that is obviously written to warn the German people against existing dangers; to rouse in them a warlike spirit; to teach

them the ethics of war and the rights of the stronger, can be used to prove that such a spirit of war was rampant in Germany. If it already existed, there was no need to write such a book!

There are Von Bernhardis in all countries. I refrain from citing American examples, because I have made it a rule in this country not to fall back on them. The feeling of obligation I have as a guest of the United States does not permit me to become personal. But what about Lord Charles Beresford, who, together with Captain Faber, has for years and years been egging on the English to increase the British Navy, at a great sacrifice to the country? What about Lord Roberts's writings and sayings for years back that England must have universal conscription and a compulsory service? What about Senator Humbert, who has vigorously denounced the French ministry for neglecting the defense of the country? Did they teach anything different from Von Bernhardt's teachings? I cannot see it.

Then about Treitschke. He was a professor of history and the historian of the Prussian Government. His ideas were formed from a lifelong study of this history. He hated England sincerely and thoroughly for the way in which she had conquered her Empire, by using might versus right; but his conferences were mainly attended on account of his refined rhetoric, for he was indeed an orator of the first order. But from being an orator to having an influence on the German people as a whole is a very far cry, and Treitschke's preachings of twenty years ago have not even formed a school. You might just as well say that it can be proven that America is a warlike nation because a celebrated Harvard professor at a later day impressed upon his women audience to go into war and help the Allies. If that were presented to the world as a proof of the American spirit there would be a very energetic protest.

And now I come to Nietzsche: He was one of the finest of poetical philosophers, or perhaps rather a philosophizing poet. His teaching of the right of the individual as the basis of all right is in direct contradiction to Von Bernhardt's teaching that the right of the collectivity—that is, of the State—is paramount to the right of the citizen as an individual. How, therefore, can it be said that Von Bernhardt is a disciple of Nietzsche?

The expression "superman" is universally attributed to Nietzsche. This is just as incorrect as it is to cite the German song "Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles" as a proof of the world-wide aspirations of my people. Superman, in German *Ueberschensch*, is a word coined by Goethe and used repeatedly in his "Faust," and so one might just as well lay the present war to the door of Goethe.

The absurdity of the thing is patent, and those who cite "Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles" in proof of German aspirations do not know even the first lines of this song so dear to the Germans. It is a song of modesty and shows better the tendencies of the German nation than anything else could:

Germany, Germany above everything, above everything in the world.
May her sons ever stand united for defense and protection
From the Maas unto the Memel,
From the Etsch unto the Belt,
Germany, Germany above everything, above everything in the world.

Now the Maas is part of the western frontier of my home country and the Memel part of the eastern frontier, and so are the Etsch in the south and the Belt in the north. Could a patriotic song be more modest? You may compare it with your own saying that the United States is the finest country in the world. The meaning is the same. Everybody praises his country and loves it best. And is "Rule Britannia" without aspiration, without pretensions?

And just as our national anthem is cited, so is our militarism. It has been created as a dire necessity for the defense of our four frontiers and has never been used beyond them. If every country could stand on so good a record as Germany there would not be so much cant about the reasons for the present war. It has been stated that militarism in general is a threat to the peace of the world. Yet German militarism has kept the peace for forty-four years. While Russia went to war with Turkey and China, and, after having promoted The Hague Conference, battled with Japan, and "protected" Persia, conquering territory double the size of the United States on the might-is-right principle; while England, the defender of the rights of the small States, smashed the Boer Republics, took Egypt, Cyprus, and south Persia; while the French Republic conquered the Sudan, Tunis, Madagascar, Indo-China, and Morocco; while Italy possessed itself of Tripoli and the islands in the Ægean Sea; while Japan fought China, took Formosa, Korea, and southern Manchuria, and has now with the aid of her allies invaded China, a neutral country—there is not one annexation or increase of territory to the charge of Germany. She has waged no war of any kind, has never acquired a territory in all her existence except by treaty and with the consent of the rest of the world.

The Battle-Ground of All Europe

But why, then, did she keep up such a tremendous army? Certainly not for aggressive purposes. She never was aggressive toward anybody. She needed this army because her exposed situation in the middle of Europe, without natural boundaries, between unsettled neighbors, has made her for ages and centuries the cockpit and the battle-ground of all Europe. Her soil was drenched with blood and her population nearly exterminated in the Thirty Years' War; Louis XIV. in the Palatinate left hardly one stone on the other, destroyed old Heidelberg and took Alsace and Lorraine, then a German-speaking dukedom; the devastations of the Seven Years' War, the battles and six years' occupation of the Napoleonic times, all taught Germany bitter lessons. Her soil has been the rendezvous of Swedes, Danes, Russians, Croats; Poles, Italians, French, and Spaniards for cen-

turies past. Impotent and not able to ward them off, she has been continually destroyed, until the genius of Bismarck welded her twenty-six States together into one unit, and Germany made the vow that she would never again give any one such chances. That is why we kept our army, and if a people have an army at all, it is a waste not to make it strong enough for any emergency. That it is not too strong may be judged from the fact that Germany is now attacked by seven nations.

You hear people say that the large standing establishment, the enormous cost of it, and the time wasted, is a sin against culture, advancement, and scientific progress. The Germany of to-day proves the contrary. While we have been keeping up a big army—which, by the way, is the cheapest of the European armies so far as the taxpayer is concerned—we have increased our population, we have enormously increased our wealth, we have built up a gigantic oversea trade, we have constructed the second largest merchant marine in the world. More, we have been able to spend as much as \$250,000,000 a year to take care of our workmen, giving them a compulsory insurance against sickness and invalidism, accident, and old age, pensioning widows and providing for orphans. Every German employee earning less than 5,000 marks a year can with a degree of security look forward to a comfortable provision for himself and for the people dear to him when his own forces fail. We pay yearly more for this social work than we ever paid for our army.

And our productive and inventive genius has not suffered. I do not say that Germany's civilization is superior to that of England and France; it certainly is superior to the civilization of any of the other warring nations. We have been able to give our people a primary and technical education of the first order, and that in turn has led to the perfection of scientific work and to inventions that are a comfort to all the world. Germany stands in the first rank in applied science, be it in chemistry, or electricity, or in the perfection of medicines. With just pride the Germans provide a great many absolute necessities of life to a very large part of the world. While the population has increased 50 per cent., the wealth of the nation is now three times what it was before, and thanks to our democratic government the repartition of this wealth is such that we have a well-to-do middle class and few colossal fortunes; and the number of really poor people in Germany is infinitely small in comparison with other countries.

This is the story of German militarism, unaggressive and certainly not unproductive, based on actual facts. Those antagonistic to our nation say it has created a warlike spirit, and that such a spirit by itself is a danger. This warlike spirit is generally shown by people going to war; and yet of all the European peoples Germany alone did not do that.

The case of Belgium is frequently cited as proving Germany's reckless warlike spirit. It is said we have broken wantonly most solemn treaties, and therefore we ought to be punished for it. The question as to the right—so far as obligations under treaties go—has been decided by nearly all

nations in the same spirit—namely, *that no nation can bind itself by a treaty to its own destruction*, just as no individual can so bind himself by contract; that the national interest supersedes the international interest, and that treaties are closed on the basis of circumstances existing at the time they are made, and that therefore they are not binding when those circumstances change.

Treaties That Are Not Binding

England, who claims to have gone to war on account of the breach of Belgium's neutrality, has never hesitated to break her obligations whenever she considered doing so of paramount interest. She has done so in this war any number of times. There is a treaty of peace and amity between Germany and Portugal which is to be broken on England's bidding. There is the Triple Alliance, which is to be severed at English solicitation. Egypt is a sovereign State, where the rights of the foreigner are guaranteed by solemn pledges, yet the Khedive had to banish the German Minister and even the judges of the mixed tribunal at England's command. China is a neutral country and bound to the open-door policy by international treaties; she has been invaded by the Allies in breach of these treaties. Morocco has pacts binding England as well as Germany, regulating the rights of the foreigners; yet the German diplomatic representative has been chased out of the country.

When Sir Edward Grey expounded the European situation before the English Parliament he cited Gladstone in regard to Belgium—Gladstone, who said that the maintenance of the obligations of a treaty without regard to changed circumstances was an impracticable, stringent proposition to which he could not adhere; and when England seized two Turkish dreadnoughts on the Tyne on August 8, she proclaimed the fact with the following words: "In accordance with the recognized principle of the right and supreme duty to assure national safety in times of war." France has been doing the same in Morocco; and Japan, when she sent to the German Consul in Mukden—a Chinese city in Manchuria—his passports, acted on the same principle, leaving aside all her other infractions on Chinese treaties and rights.

This is sad and does not portend well for the permanent peace by arrangement of international affairs through treaties; yet it seems that it can not be helped. The United States Supreme Court says in a judgment rendered in 1889, written by Judge Field, expressing the unanimous conviction of the whole court: "Circumstances may arise which would not only justify the Government in disregarding their treaty stipulations, but demand in the interest of the country that it should do so. There can be no question that unexpected events may call for a change of the policy of the country." This judgment was handed down when the Chinese were excluded from the United States in violation of a previous treaty which had assured them the same rights as United States citizens; and the United States has acted on the quoted decision ever since.

The Case of Belgium

It is, therefore, universally recognized that the vital interests of a country supersede its treaty obligations. But though this is the theoretic side of the question, there is a practical one as regards Belgium: When the war broke out there was no enforceable treaty in existence to which Germany was a party. Originally, in 1839, a treaty was concluded providing for such neutrality. In 1866, France demanded of Prussia the right to take possession of Belgium, and the written French offer was made known by Bismarck in July, 1870. Then England demanded and obtained separate treaties with France and with the North-German Federation to the effect that they should respect Belgium's neutrality, and such treaties were signed on the 9th and 26th of August, 1870, respectively. According to them both countries guaranteed Belgium's neutrality *for the duration of the war and for one year thereafter*. The war came to an end with the Frankfurt Peace in 1871, and the treaty between Belgium and the North-German Federation expired in May, 1872.

Why the new treaties, if the old one held good? The Imperial Chancellor has been continuously misrepresented as admitting that in the case of Belgium a treaty obligation was broken. What he said was that the neutrality of Belgium could not be respected and that we were sincerely sorry that Belgium, a country that in fact had nothing to do with the question at issue and might wish to stay neutral, had to be overrun. But it should not be forgotten that the offer of indemnity to Belgium and the full maintenance of her sovereignty had been made not only once but even a second time after the fall of Liège, and that it would have been entirely possible for Belgium to avoid all the devastation under which she is now suffering.

England takes the position that in case France had used Belgium as a stepping-stone, England would have gone to war against France for breaking the Belgian neutrality. This is a remarkable proposition. On July 30, the Belgian *chargé d'affaires* at St. Petersburg wrote to his Government—and the authenticity of this letter can not be impeached—that the Russian war-party got the upper hand upon England's assurance that she would stand in with France. This was written before the Belgian question ever came up; and before Sir Edward Grey expounded in Parliament the Belgian question, he insisted that England was obliged to protect the French coast against Germany because of the amity and friendship existing between the two nations. He then read the correspondence of 1912 between himself and the French Minister of War, where the arrangement is alluded to that the French fleet should protect the Mediterranean Sea and the English fleet the northern coast of France. So in consequence of this, Sir Edward Grey insisted to Count Lichnowsky that the maintenance of Belgium's neutrality *alone* would not keep England from going to war, but that, if France should be attacked, England would aid her.

I wish an intelligent American reader to picture to himself a situation

where England protects the French coast against Germany and goes to war against France for breach of Belgian neutrality.

But Belgium was not neutral at all any more, and with her circumstances had greatly changed. Even since 1906 she had been in correspondence with England, elaborating plans for a common defense, providing for the landing of a hundred thousand English at Antwerp. She had been in correspondence with France, building fortresses all along the German frontier, which form a continuous chain with the French fortresses along that same frontier. She had been changing her military system to a system of compulsory conscription, establishing an army of more than three hundred thousand men, creating—on English instigation—a spy system on her eastern frontier, acquiring enormous oversea possessions of nine hundred thousand square miles, an area three times as great as Germany and populated by nine million inhabitants. This acquisition, by the way, was also obtained by breach of treaty.

Belgian population at home is bigger by one-half than that of Portugal. Though Belgium left her frontiers toward France entirely unprotected and open, she was actively preparing to make a stand against Germany. This is not the "poor little country" that is being pictured to the Americans. I think the Belgian fighting, which she has had to do almost quite alone against a large part of the German forces, should fully prove that.

But she did more. The Imperial Chancellor said that he had proofs that the French were to invade Germany by way of Belgium. Proof there is. French soldiers and French guns, in spite of all the denials made by the French Ambassador at Washington, were in Liége and Namur before the 30th of July. Certainly this proof is only in private letters, but it comes from absolutely unimpeachable people. Of course it is not in the White Books, such as are held up as evidence of the purest water.

But do Americans believe all the "official news" that the Russians are sending continuously from the seat of war as to their enormous successes, the routing of the Austrians, the destruction of their whole army, the march on Vienna and Berlin, and so forth? I do not think they do; but why then place an implicit faith on so-called White Books, written by identically the same people? Such books are written for the purpose of making out a nation's case, and they are the diplomatic war weapons used in the war of diplomatists that always precedes the war at arms.

There is a great deal of talk of crushing Germany, and the necessity for it, because of her military spirit. I confess we are a manly people, and want to be strong and want to be secure. We want to live and to thrive, and are ready to pay for our civic liberty and national independence with our blood. And we should despise a nation that did not feel the same way.

Safety for the Monroe Doctrine

The case of England is different. Though she wants to be free and independent, she has always managed to have her fighting done for her by

others, from the time she trafficked in Hessians, and that is why she has not had a standing army such as Lord Roberts and his friends have always demanded. Though there is a fighting spirit in the English Army, it is mostly Irish, and so are the leaders—Lord Roberts, Lord Beresford, Sir John French, Admiral Jellicoe, and Lord Kitchener of Khartum. The way in which she cares for the little nations whose interests she has so much at heart is to allow her fighting to be done by the Belgians, of whom Sir Edward Grey said that he expected them to fight to the last man for the independence of the country. And so she called in the Canadians, who should have much better things to do; and she made a treaty with Portugal to help her—the Portuguese, who do not know what the conflict is about. She brings over ambitious Indian princes and poor ignorant Indian soldiers to fight against the white men; she relies on Japan and she gets the Boers to attack the German possessions; she tries to persuade Italy to do some fighting for her. Most of these are “poor little States,” who now are expected to fight for the sovereignty and independence of Great Britain. In this way she has time left to talk at home and to force the unemployed into a new army that is going to be created. That she too must become militaristic she now finds out to her surprise and grief.

The fact that Canada has taken part in this struggle has opened up a new prospective to Americans. It is a wilful breach of the Monroe Doctrine for an American self-governing dominion to go to war, thereby exposing the American Continent to a counter-attack from Europe and risking to disarrange the present equilibrium. But I think America can set her mind at rest on that point. I at least would most emphatically say that no matter what happens the Monroe Doctrine will not be violated by Germany either in North America or in South America. When she is victorious there will be enough property of her antagonists lying about over the four parts of the globe to keep Germany from the necessity of looking any farther, and causing trouble where she seeks friendship and sympathy.

While England in the Venezuelan case of 1895 most coolly challenged the Monroe Doctrine, it was Germany in 1904, in a similar case, also with Venezuela, who submitted her claim in Washington and got the consent of the United States Government to prosecute the collection. Moreover, I am in the position to state here that immediately after the outbreak of the war, by one of the first mails that reached the United States, the German Government sent of its own free initiative a solemn declaration to the Department of State that whatever happened she would fully respect the Monroe Doctrine.

The Dangers of Navyism

I wish also to make clear to the American people that Germany neither wanted nor started this war, which had its origin in Russia's pretensions to mix in Austrian affairs, and that got its size from the fact that England and France joined the conflict, the latter from treaty obligations, the former

from self-interest, and that *we have no ambitions of enlargement in Europe or in America*. Modern democracies, and especially the German one, which is directed by the most liberal ballot law that exists, even more liberal than the one in use in the United States, rest at least in Europe on a national basis.

We do not believe in incorporating in our Empire any parts of nations that are not of our own language and race. The history of Europe has shown us the danger of such a thing. The difficulties between France and Germany are over the French-speaking population in Lorraine; the small internal differences in Germany came because of some millions of Poles and thirty thousand Danes; the trouble between Austria and Italy is because of a few hundred thousand Italian-speaking people under Austrian government. England had what nearly amounted to a civil war because of Ireland. The trouble in Russia is on account of the Poles, Finns, and Baltic Germans; and Austria, the country of many nations, is not very strong just for this very reason. And as to oversea possessions, as I said before, there are enough to be had without borrowing trouble; especially in Africa, where considerable parts of land lend themselves to colonization by the white man.

Even there our ambitions do not go very far and we are quite content with what we have, and with our spheres of influence in Mesopotamia, and some countries such as Morocco, that a civilized nation with great resources and inventive genius might open to the world's culture. All assertions that our ambition goes beyond this are untrue, and simply invented for the purpose of rousing distrust between the United States and a country that has for generations been the friend of the Stars and Stripes, and that has never gone to war with you as England has done.

I have read in your papers statements to the effect that probably the next thing Germany would do after the close of the present war would be to invade the United States or take Brazil. Why not say the same of England? She has always had a navy twice the size of that of any other nation; she is now creating a big army; she has always been aggressive; she has conquered half the world; she has shown utter disregard of treaties; she has coaling stations all along the American coast, which form a fighting basis from Halifax down to the Falklands and from Chile up to British Columbia; she controls the entrance to the Panama Canal; she is even now dictating to Uncle Sam her own rights and laws in regard to contraband, seizing American petroleum, seizing American ships flying the Stars and Stripes, harassing American citizens, cutting cables, using wireless stations as she pleases, maiming the trade of America, locking up the Mediterranean, the North Sea, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf.

Why not consider navyism under the same light that we do militarism? I ask, who is bulldozing the rest of the world, including America, at this present moment? England wants to rule the seas. There lies her power; thence comes her commerce and therefore her riches. Whenever a nation

that is but human—as I think the English are—poses as being on a higher level than any other nation, doing everything for the benefit of the under-dog, because of altruism and a recognition of the sacredness of her given word, disclaiming emphatically any self-interest, while at the same time advertising through her writers the loftiness of her intentions, I cannot help feeling suspicious, and everybody else should, it seems to me, feel the same way.

Americans have been hearing a great deal about the English angel without wings standing with a sword drawn for the protection of liberty, freedom, and humanity and just causes, using as watchwords the fight against militarism, the principle that might is right, the infringement of the Monroe Doctrine, and so on. She has sent a host of English authors of a very special type to defend her case. I read articles by G. K. Chesterton, Hall Caine, H. G. Wells, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and other writers of fiction. They consider the American people a sentimental people, preferring humane stories to the cold truth, fiction to facts, and unused to doing their own thinking. Well, fiction is what these men are writing; that is their business, and the gentleman who detailed the English case in the issue of *The Saturday Evening Post* of October 17th, Mr. Arnold Bennett, is an artist of no common attainments.

But I shall make free to dig somewhat deeper into what I see to be the reason for the English attitude. England has created a large shipping trade and acquired enormous possessions overseas, and she felt secure in her supremacy. She was uneasy only on account of the United States, which—until Germany loomed up on the horizon as a big Power—she tried to treat as she was treating Germany before the war. But now she feels that her absolute sway is in danger. Even in her own domain she does a very large share only by foreign help. Most of the big bankers, from Rothschild down, are of German descent; the whole English credit would have broken down if the English authorities had not within four hours forced Baron Schroeder to become a British citizen; the diamond and gold business is in the hands of Anglicized Germans; theirs is a large share in the produce business. The English cannot do without German clerks.

A Commercial Quarrel

I remember a speech by the chairman of the London Chamber of Commerce, Lord Southwark, not longer ago than last June, in which he said: "You Germans are getting ahead of us because you are working 16 per cent longer than we and because you do not consider Saturday a holiday." That state of things was not felt much so long as it was going on within British confines and for the interest of Great Britain alone—that is, until about 1880; but then the German nation commenced to assert itself. Germans learn all the languages, whereas the English very seldom do. If an Englishman wants a stenographer to write Portuguese letters to Brazil he

must take a German clerk. German dominion in trade all over the world has been established through the fact that the German talks to the people in their own language, respects their national feeling, finds out their national wants, and delivers to them exactly what they wish to get. He never says, "We can not do this" or "You have to take our standard," but carefully carries out their orders according to the best scientific methods, and therefore at the best price. The German iron industry has, because of its improved methods, obtained a great part of England's trade. German machinery, except in the textile business, is more efficient than English machinery. The field of electricity has been entirely abandoned by England to America and Germany. Dyestuffs are now even shipped by way of America and Canada back to England. German proprietary medicines have conquered the world market and the German competition is felt everywhere.

Then, too, there is the enormous increase of German shipping, in spite of the fact that practically all the English companies doing passenger service are half broke. While the International Mercantile Marine Company has suspended payment and the big liners of the Cunard Line can live only by subsidies, Germany has been building up a most magnificent merchant marine, with ships that exceed in comfort and size anything launched from England's shipyards. Even in the tramp-steamer business, the backbone of English shipping, the Germans have made big inroads. So while the trade of Great Britain and Ireland since 1870 has risen from two billion dollars to five and a half billions, that of Germany has risen from one billion to five billions—in other words, while Germany's trade is now five times what it was in 1870, English trade is only two and a half times its former amount. For a commercial nation such as England, this condition is very serious. It goes to the very core of the nation's existence. Therefore, Great Britain faced the alternative of getting better habits of work, improved machinery, better education, better knowledge of foreign languages—that is, being more industrious, less luxurious, and more painstaking—or of fighting. But England was not accustomed to doing her own fighting, save with her fleet. The other fellows, whose welfare she has so much at heart, could fight for her, so it was not very difficult for her to make her choice.

This is the real explanation of the present war. The correctness of this view is proved by the constant invitations sent out from England to America to help her get away with the German trade, an idea that is justly repulsive to the American mind. So it was not Germany's militarism that England feared, but German trade and commerce, which she could not destroy because of the military and naval forces behind them.

Germany is now attacked by seven nations. She is fighting morally for her freedom and for her existence. She has no special grudge against anybody. She is modest in her aspirations, and merely wants to maintain her place under the sun. She wants equal opportunity, open-door politics,

and open commerce throughout the world. Nor is she either Hunnic or barbarian, as Americans will have learned from the twenty-five million German or German-American people who live in their midst. She is out for conquest on a peaceful line, the line where the higher culture wins, where the more industrious and labcrious are sure to prevail. This is to the interest of all the world. Germany has to her record forty-four years of peace, and she has never coveted her neighbors' possessions. So, as far as the moral issue goes, she has much the best showing to make of all the nations now at war, and it is within eternal justice that she should and will prevail.

ENGLAND'S SHARE OF GUILT IN THE WAR

A Review of the Official Publications, Especially of the English Documents, Vouched for by Dr. Dernburg

[The following is presented as a complete defense of the German position in the present war, and is based upon examination of the German and English "White Papers." It was prepared in Germany and forwarded to Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, who had it translated for the New York "Times." Dr. Dernburg gives this statement his full approval and accepts complete responsibility for it.]

Two of the five great European Powers that are at present engaged in war, Austria-Hungary and Russia, whose differences for years have been constantly increasing in sharpness, and after the tragedy in Sarajevo became impossible to be bridged by diplomacy, conjured up the frightful struggle.

With these two, two other Powers are so closely united by alliances that their participation in the war also was unavoidable; they are Germany and France.

There are two other great European Powers whose relations to the two aforesaid groups before the war were very much alike in the essential points. Just as Italy was politically tied by alliance to the Central Powers, so England was with the Franco-Russian Alliance. Hence it was uncertain how these countries, each geographically removed from the main body of the Continent, would act in a war, and it seemed quite possible that both would decide to remain neutral.

As a matter of fact, the Italian Government came to the view that such a stand would be for the best interests of its country.

This decision might have made it considerably more easy for England also to maintain her neutrality, which from political, economical, and ethical reasons would have been advantageous and natural for the Island Empire. To the surprise and indignation of all those Germans who for years had been working toward an adjustment of the conflicting interests of both countries—among these ought to be mentioned, above all, the Kaiser and the Imperial Chancellor—the Liberal British Ministry immediately declared war on Germany, and did not confine itself to a naval war, but, in keeping with agreements reached years ago between the English and the French General Staffs, as is now admitted, equipped an expeditionary army, thus considerably strengthening the French forces.

The question arises, "What reasons led British politics to this monstrous step?"

Much has been written during the last weeks from the German side, criticizing most sharply and with great justification the motive of the London Cabinet. In the following discussion we will confine ourselves to an

impartial review of the documents published by the English Government itself in its own defense.

The essential part of this justification is contained in the "Correspondence Concerning the European Crisis" placed before the British Parliament shortly after the start of the war, which is known as the British "White Paper." In amplification are to be considered the "White Book" placed by the German Government before the Reichstag, and the "Orange Book" published by Russia.

I.

THE RUSSIAN MOBILIZATION

In a public speech, delivered September 19, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Lloyd-George, according to the report of the *Westminster Gazette*, which may be considered as his organ, characterized the quarrel between Germany and Russia in the picturesque manner which this statesman prefers, as follows:

GERMANY—I insist that you stand aside with crossed arms while Austria strangles your little brother Servia.

RUSSIA—Just you touch this little fellow and I will tear your ramshackle Empire limb from limb.

We will not waste words in considering the flippant form here used in a discussion of an unspeakably bloody and world-historic conflict. But this expression in very pregnant form makes Russia appear in the light in which the London powers-that-be desire to show the Empire of the Czar to the British people, viz., in the rôle of the noble-hearted protector of persecuted innocence, while Germany, supporting and egging on Austria-Hungary, is shown as morally responsible for the war.

Cites English Documents

This, also, is the chain of thought in the speech of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons on August 4. Translations of this speech have been spread by the British Government in neutral countries in hundreds of thousands of copies under the title, "The Power Responsible for War Is Germany."

Now, we claim that the British "White Paper" itself furnishes irrefutable proof that not Germany, which up to the last moment offered the hand of mediation, but Russia is responsible for the war, and that the Foreign Office at London was fully cognizant of this fact.

Furthermore, the "White Paper" shows that England's claim that she entered this war solely as a protector of the small nations is a fable.

The documents reproduced in the "White Paper" do not begin until July 20, and only a few introductory dispatches before the 24th are given. The first of the very important reports of the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Sir George Buchanan, to Secretary of State Grey is dated

on that day; on the same day the note addressed by Austria-Hungary to the Servian Government had been brought to the knowledge of the European Cabinets, and the British Ambassador conferred with the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Sasanow, over this matter. The French Minister also took part in this conference. When the latter and M. Sasanow in the most insistent way tried to prove to Buchanan that England, together with Russia and France, must assume a threatening attitude toward Austria-Hungary and Germany, the British Ambassador replied:

I said that I would telegraph a full report to you of what their Excellencies had just said to me. I could not, of course, speak in the name of his Majesty's Government, but personally I saw no reason to expect any declaration of solidarity from his Majesty's Government that would entail an unconditional engagement on their part to support Russia and France by force of arms. Direct British interests in Servia were nil, and a war on behalf of that country would never be sanctioned by British public opinion.—*British "White Paper" No. 6.*

The British Ambassador thereupon asked the question whether Russia was thinking of eventually declaring war on Austria. The following was the answer:

M. Sasanow said that he himself thought that Russian mobilization would at any rate have to be carried out; but a council of Ministers was being held this afternoon to consider the whole question.

The dispatch continues:

French Ambassador and M. Sasanow both continue to press me for a declaration of complete solidarity of his Majesty's Government with French and Russian Governments. . . .—*British "White Paper" No. 6.*

This shows plainly that the Russian mobilization must have been planned even before July 24, for otherwise M. Sasanow could not have spoken of the necessity of carrying it through.

It is furthermore very remarkable that the Russian Minister on this early day spoke of the mobilization in general and not of the partial mobilization against Austria-Hungary.

Finally, we find that the British Government was fully informed at the very latest on July 24—it may have had before it previous documents, but they are not contained in the "White Paper"—concerning Russian mobilization, and thereby the development of Russian and French politics that had to be anticipated.

Russian Aggression

Had there been any doubts concerning these matters on the part of the British Government, the continual urging of Russian and French diplomats must have made things plain. Russia's aggressive policy, and not the Austrian declaration of war on Servia, which did not come until five days later, led to the European War. Servia meant so little to England, although England traditionally poses as a protector of small nations, that the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg was able to describe England's

interest in the kingdom on the Save as *nil*. Only later, after the beginning of the war, England warmed up to Serbia, and in the aforementioned speech Mr. Lloyd-George found the most hearty tones in speaking of the heroic fight of this "little nation," although he was obliged to admit simultaneously that its history is not untainted.

On the day following that conversation, on July 25, the British Ambassador had another talk with M. Sasanow, during the course of which he felt obliged to express to the Russian Government a serious warning concerning its mobilization.

On my expressing the earnest hope that Russia would not precipitate war by mobilizing until you had had time to use your influence in favor of peace, his Excellency assured me that Russia had no aggressive intentions and she would take no action until it was forced on her. Austria's action was in reality directed against Russia. She aimed at overthrowing the present *status quo* in the Balkans and establishing her own hegemony there. He did not believe that Germany really wanted war, but her attitude was decided by ours. If we took our stand firmly with France and Russia there would be no war. If we failed them now, rivers of blood would flow and we would in the end be dragged into war.

I said all I could to impress prudence on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and warned him that if Russia mobilized Germany would not be content with mere mobilization or give Russia time to carry out hers, but would probably declare war at once! His Excellency replied that Russia could not allow Austria to crush Serbia and become the predominant Power in the Balkans, and, if she feels secure of the support of France, she will face all the risks of war. He assured me once more that he did not wish to precipitate a conflict, but that unless Germany could restrain Austria I could regard the situation as desperate.—*British "White Paper" No. 17.*

A more convincing contradiction of the claim that Germany fell upon unexpectant Russia can hardly be imagined. Sasanow's conversation with the British Ambassador shows that Russia had decided from the beginning to bring about the war, unless Austria would subject itself to Russia's dictation.

Now, Russia was not alone concerned about Serbia, but from its viewpoint Austria-Hungary must not maintain the preponderant position in the Balkans.

Buchanan Warned Russia

Sure of French help, Russia was determined to work against this. The reports of the British representative do not suggest with a word that Germany was responsible for the war; on the contrary, Sir Buchanan again, on his own account, warned the Russian Government to keep aloof from military measures, in his conversation with M. Sasanow on July 27, although the "White Paper" does not show that he had received any instructions by Sir Edward Grey.

His Excellency must not, if our efforts were to be successful, do anything to precipitate a conflict. In these circumstances I trusted that the Russian Government would defer the mobilization ukase for as long as possible, and that troops would not be allowed to cross the frontier even when it was issued.—*British "White Paper" No. 44.*

Just as its own Ambassador in St. Petersburg pointed out to the British Government the dangers of Russian mobilization, England did not lack

German warnings. On July 28 the British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir E. Goschen, reported as follows by wire concerning a conversation with the Imperial Chancellor:

. . . but if the news were true which he had just read in the papers, that Russia had mobilized fourteen army corps in the south, he thought the situation was very serious, and he himself would be in a very difficult position, as in these circumstances it would be out of his power to continue to preach moderation at Vienna. He added that Austria, who as yet was only partially mobilizing, would have to take similar measures, and if war were to result Russia would be entirely responsible.—*British "White Paper" No. 71.*

In a telegram of Mr. Goschen's of July 30, reporting a conversation with the Secretary of State Von Jagow, it is stated:

He begged me to impress on you the difficulty of Germany's position in view of Russian mobilization and military measures which he hears are being taken in France.—*British "White Paper" No. 98.*

The British Government has added a few further publications to its "White Paper." Among these is a report of the hitherto British Ambassador in Vienna, Sir Maurice de Bunsen. The document is dated September 1; that is, a full month after the outbreak of the war. The tendency of this publication is not only to unburden Russia and England from all blame and to put it upon German and Austro-Hungarian politics, but it attempts to make Germany responsible for the war to a greater extent than Austria-Hungary, in trying to sow dissension between the two allies.

Bunsen's Misrepresentation

Ambassador de Bunsen represents matters as if Germany, through its ultimatum to Russia on July 31, had roughly interrupted negotiations promising success then going on between Vienna and St. Petersburg. In this report it is stated:

(Retranslated)—M. Schebeko [the Russian Ambassador at Vienna] on July 28 attempted to induce the Austrian Government to authorize Count Scapary to continue negotiations which he had been carrying on with M. Sasanow, and which appeared very promising. Count Berchtold on this day declined, but two days later, July 30, although Russia then had already started partial mobilization against Austria, he received M. Schebeko again in the most courteous manner and gave his consent to continuation of the *pourparlers*. . . . On August 1, M. Schebeko informed me that Austria was ready to submit to mediation those parts of its note to Servia which appeared to be irreconcilable to the independence of Servia. . . . Unfortunately these *pourparlers* in St. Petersburg and Vienna were suddenly broken off by the quarrel being removed to the more dangerous territory of a direct conflict between Germany and Russia. Germany, on July 31, stepped between the two with its double ultimatum addressed to St. Petersburg and Paris. . . . A delay of a few days in all probability would have spared Europe one of the greatest wars in history.

On the other hand, be it remembered that the fact that any negotiations between Austria and Russia were carried on up to the last hour was solely the result of the uninterrupted German efforts to maintain peace, which fact Sir Maurice de Bunsen very wisely buries in silence. These negotiations, by the way, hardly were as promising of success as is made to appear.

The Austrian version of it is found in the Vienna *Fremdenblatt* of September 25, 1914. There the most important spots of Bunsen's report, that Austria-Hungary had been ready to moderate several points of its note to Serbia, are mentioned as follows:

As we are told by a well-informed source, these assertions do not at all correspond to the facts; furthermore, from the very nature of the steps undertaken by the dual Monarchy in Belgrade, this would have been entirely inconceivable.

A glance at the date shows that the Bunsen report is misleading, for he himself tells that Count Berchtold, on July 30, had expressed his consent to a continuation of the exchange of thought in St. Petersburg; the latter, therefore, could not begin before the 31st, while in the night from July 30 to 31, the mobilization of the entire Russian Army against Germany was ordered in St. Petersburg, finally making impossible the continuation of the last German attempt at mediation in Vienna.

The truth is, in spite of Russian and English twistings, that without the interval caused by Germany's efforts in Vienna, which interval England allowed to pass unused in St. Petersburg, the war would have broken out a few days sooner.

Let us consider how the fact of the Russian mobilization, the dimensions and tendency of which were brought to the knowledge of the London Cabinet at the very latest on July 24, must affect Germany.

On July 24, the Russian Government declared, in an official communiqué, it would be impossible for it to remain indifferent in an Austro-Servian conflict.

Germany's Hand Forced

This declaration was followed immediately by military measures which represented the beginning of Russian mobilization long planned. But even on July 27 the Russian Minister of War, Suchomlinof, assured the German Military Attaché upon word of honor (Annex 11 of the German "White Paper") that no order for mobilization had been given and no reservists had been drawn and no horse had been commandeered.

Although in this conversation there had been left no doubt to the Russian Minister of War concerning the fact that measures of mobilization against Austria must be considered by Germany also as very threatening toward itself, during the next days news of the Russian mobilization arrived in quick succession.

On the 29th, mobilization of Southern and Southwestern Russia was ordered, which was extended on the 30th to twenty-three provinces.

On the night of the 30th to the 31st, while the efforts of the Kaiser to maintain peace were continuing and were receiving friendly attention in Vienna, in St. Petersburg the mobilization of the entire Russian Army was ordered. Even as late as 2 P.M. on the 31st, however (German "White Paper," page 18, of New York *Times* reprint), the Czar telegraphed the Kaiser that the military measures now being taken were meant for defensive

purposes against Austria's preparations, and he gave his pledge as far away from desiring war.

In the face of such evident duplicity of Russian politics, a further delay such as was desired by Sir Maurice de Bunsen would have been for every German statesman a crime against the security of his own country.

On the other hand, upon what German measures did the Russian Government base its order for mobilization? The British "White Paper" proves how frivolously steps leading to the most serious results were ordered in St. Petersburg. On July 30, Sir George Buchanan telegraphed:

M. Sasanow told us that absolute proof was in possession of the Russian Government that Germany was making military and naval preparations against Russia, more particularly in the direction of the Gulf of Finland.—*British "White Paper" No. 97.*

Proofs Lacking

On the other hand, Buchanan's telegram of July 31 (British "White Paper" No. 113) states:

Russia has also reason to believe that Germany is making active military preparations, and she cannot afford to let her get a start.—*British "White Paper" No. 113.*

So, from one day to the next the "absolute proof" changed to a reason for the assumption. In reality, both were assertions that lack all proof.

The finishing part of a telegram sent by the British Ambassador in Berlin to Sir Edward Grey on July 31 deserves special mention:

He [the German Secretary of State] again assured me that both the Emperor William, at the request of the Emperor of Russia and the German Foreign Office, had even up till last night been urging Austria to show willingness to continue discussion—and telephonic communications from Vienna had been of a promising nature—but Russia's mobilization had spoiled everything.—*British "White Paper" No. 121.*

Therefore, the German Chancellor, in his memorandum placed before the Reichstag, stated with full justification:

The Russian Government has smashed the laborious attempts at mediation on the part of the European State Chancelleries, on the eve of success, by the mobilization, endangering the safety of the Empire. The measures for a mobilization, about whose seriousness the Russian Government was fully acquainted from the beginning, in connection with their constant denial, show clearly that Russia wanted war.

To this is to be added that the English Government also was made fully cognizant of the intentions of the Russian mobilization, by a witness that could not be suspected, namely, its own representative in St. Petersburg, and therefore must bear full responsibility.

II.

GREY'S OMISSIONS AND ERRORS

We have seen from the "Blue Book" that the Secretary of State in London was informed at the very latest on July 24, by his Ambassador in St. Petersburg, of the plan of the Russian mobilization, and consequently of the tremendous seriousness of the European situation. Yet eight to

nine days had to elapse before the beginning of the war. Let us see whether Sir Edward Grey used this time to preserve peace, according to his own documents.

From this testimony it appears that even at the beginning of the last and decisive part of the European crisis, which began on June 28, 1914, with the assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne, Sir Edward Grey refrained from considering a direct participation of his country in the possible world-war. At least, this must be the impression gained from his remarks to the representatives of the two Powers with whom England is to-day at war. Thus, he said to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Count Mensdorff, on July 23:

The possible consequences of the present situation were terrible. If as many as four great Powers of Europe—let us say Austria, France, Russia, and Germany—were engaged in war, it seemed to me that it must involve the expenditure of so vast a sum of money and such an interference with trade that a war would be accompanied or followed by a complete collapse of European credit and industry.—*British "White Paper" No. 3.*

Here Grey speaks only of four of the big Powers at most that may go to war, without even hinting at the fifth, namely, England. On July 24, he had another conversation with the Austrian Ambassador, the theme of which was the note—meanwhile presented to Serbia. It caused apprehensions on his part, but he declared again:

The merits of the dispute between Austria and Serbia were not the concern of his Majesty's Government.

I [Grey] ended by saying that doubtless we should enter into an exchange of views with other Powers, and that I must await their views as to what could be done to mitigate the difficulties of the situation.—*British "White Paper" No. 5.*

We are already striking the fateful peculiarity of Grey's policy to hesitate where prompt action, or at least a clear and open conduct would have been his duty. This weakness of his nature has been used with great art by French and Russian diplomacy. This is illustrated by the conversation of July 24 between him and the French Ambassador, Cambon, in London:

M. Cambon said that, if there was a chance of mediation by the four Powers he had no doubt that his Government would be glad to join in it; but he pointed out that we could not say anything in St. Petersburg till Russia had expressed some opinion or taken some action. But, when two days were over, Austria would march into Serbia, for the Servians could not possibly accept the Austrian demand. Russia would be compelled by her public opinion to take action as soon as Austria attacked Serbia, and, therefore, once the Austrians had attacked Serbia it would be too late for any mediation.—*British "White Paper" No. 10.*

The Situation on July 24

Thus: England must not give any advice to Russia before it knows Russia's intent and even its measures. But inasmuch as Austria will have proceeded against Serbia by that time, Russia must make war, and the conclusion is that even on July 24 the catastrophe is considered unavoidable. Grey shows himself more and more hypnotized by the fatalistic view that

it is too late. Hence he reports also on July 24 a conversation of the German Ambassador, Prince Lichnowsky:

I reminded the German Ambassador that some days ago he had expressed a personal hope that, if need arose, I would endeavor to exercise moderating influence at St. Petersburg, but now I said that, in view of the extraordinarily stiff character of the Austrian note, the shortness of the time allowed, and the wide scope of the demands upon Serbia, I felt quite helpless as far as Russia was concerned, and I did not believe any Power could exercise influence alone.—*British "White Paper" No. 11.*

From a conversation of Grey with Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador, on July 25:

Alone, we could do nothing. The French Government were traveling [this refers to the visit at St. Petersburg by Messrs. Poincaré and Viviani] at the moment, and I had had no time to consult them, and could not, therefore, be sure of their views.—*British "White Paper" No. 25.*

If Sir Edward Grey sincerely desired the maintenance of peace, he must have had to use his entire influence at St. Petersburg to bring about the stopping of the threatening military measures taken by Russia, whereas he was waiting for the opinion of the French Government. He was bound to do this, so much the more in view of the fact that he demanded from Germany that it should exert its influence with Austria.

That this request of Grey's was complied with by Germany in so far as it was in any way in accord with the alliance with Austria-Hungary, and that in Vienna every effort was made to conciliate matters, is shown by the assurance of the Chancellor. He declares:

In spite of this [the Austro-Hungarian Government having remarked with full appreciation of our action that it had come too late, we continued our mediatory efforts to the utmost and advised Vienna to make any possible compromise consistent with the dignity of the Monarchy.—*German "White Paper," page 17, of New York "Times" reprint.*

Grey well knew that Germany was doing all it could to mediate in Vienna. He expressed his recognition and his joy over it on July 28 ("Blue Book," page 67):

It is very satisfactory to hear from the German Ambassador here that the German Government have taken action at Vienna in the sense of the conversation recorded in my telegram of yesterday to you.—*British "White Paper" No. 67.**

"No diplomatic pressure whatever was exerted [by Germany] on Vienna, which, under the protection of Berlin, was permitted to do with Serbia as she liked."

Grey's own words contradict this assertion.

Neither has Grey been left in the dark by the German side concerning the difficulties, which by the Russian mobilization made every attempt to

* Recently a book entitled "Why We Make War," in defence of Great Britain, appeared at Oxford, as the authors of which "Members of the Faculty for Modern History in Oxford" are mentioned. This work undertakes, on the ground of the official publications, to whitewash Grey's policy, and, of course, incidentally the Russian policy. Altogether this publication, parading in the gown of science, is contradicted by our own presentation of the facts; it may be mentioned also that this work contains in part positive untruths. Thus it states on page 70 (retranslation):

mediate in Vienna abortive. Even on July 31, the British Ambassador in Berlin telegraphed:

The Chancellor informs me that his efforts to preach peace and moderation at Vienna have been seriously handicapped by the Russian mobilization against Austria. He has done everything possible to obtain his object at Vienna, perhaps even rather more than was altogether palatable at the Ballplatz.—*British "White Paper" No. 108.*

England and Russia

How, on the other hand, about Grey's action with Russia? From the very beginning one should have had a right to expect that, as Germany acted in Vienna, thus France, if it was active in Grey's spirit, would be working in St. Petersburg for peace. Of this no trace whatsoever can be found. The French Government thus far had not published any series of documents concerning its activity during the crisis, and neither in the Russian "Orange Book" nor in the English "Blue Book" is anything mentioned of the mediating activity on the part of France.

On the contrary, the latter Power, wherever she puts in an appearance—as, for instance, in the conversation of the English Ambassador in St. Petersburg with his French colleague and M. Sasanow, as mentioned above—appears as fully identical with Russia. It is also stated on July 24:

The French Ambassador gave me to understand that France would fulfill all the obligations entailed by her alliance with Russia if necessity arose, besides supporting Russia strongly in all diplomatic negotiations. . . . It seems to me from the language held by the French Ambassador that even if we decline to join them, France and Russia are determined to make a strong stand.—*British "White Paper" No. 6.*

One should think that Grey, who in view of this could not possibly expect an influence for peace being brought to bear by France, but only a strengthening of the Russian desire for aggression, now would have acted in the most energetic manner in St. Petersburg for the maintenance of peace.

In reality, however, during the days that still remained, aside from a weak, and in St. Petersburg absolutely ineffective, advice to postpone mobilization, he did nothing whatsoever, and later placed himself in a manner constantly more recognizable on the side of Russia.

The claim that the time limit given by the Austrian note to Serbia was the cause of the war, that Grey's mediation had only miscarried owing to the haste of Germany, is disproved by the British documents themselves. De Bunsen, on July 26, telegraphed to Grey from Vienna:

Russian Ambassador just returned from leave, thinks that Austro-Hungarian Government are determined on war, and that it is impossible for Russia to remain indifferent. He does not propose to press for more time in the sense of your telegram of the 25th inst.—*British "White Paper" No. 40.*

Therefore Russia has paid little attention to the very shy and timid efforts to maintain peace by the British Secretary of State, even where these were concerned in the attempt to change the position taken by Austria.

Another proof: Sasanow on July 27 sent a telegram to the Russian Ambassador in London which the latter transmitted to Grey, and which

concerns itself with the much-mentioned proposition of the latter to have the conflict investigated by a conference of the four great Powers not immediately concerned.

Russian Sincerity Questioned

The conference plan was declined without much hesitation and openly by Germany, because it was compelled to see therein an attempt to place Austria before a European court of arbitration, and because it knew the serious determination of its ally in this matter. But did Russia really want the conference? Minister Sasanow declares:

I replied to the [British] Ambassador that I have begun conversations with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador under conditions which I hope may be favorable. I have not, however, received as yet any reply to the proposal made by me for revising the note between the two Cabinets.—*British "White Paper" No. 53.*

Here it is shown plainly how little the conference plan was after the heart of the Russians. Had they accepted it it would have had to be done immediately. As soon as the situation had grown very much more serious by the failure of the negotiations with Austria-Hungary there would have been no more time for this.*

A telegram of the English Ambassador in St. Petersburg, dated July 27 (British "White Paper" No. 55), shows how this conference was expected to be conducted in St. Petersburg:

His Excellency [Sasanow] said he was perfectly ready to stand aside if the Powers accepted the proposal for a conference, but he trusted that you would keep in touch with the Russian Ambassador in the event of its taking place.—*British "White Paper" No. 55.*

Russian shrewdness evidently expected to control the conference by keeping in touch with Grey, who, of course, would have been the Chairman.

* In the aforementioned book of the Oxford historians there is stated on page 69 (retranslation):

This mediation [namely, Grey's mediation proposition] had already been accepted by Russia on July 25.

We have shown in the foregoing that the Russian Government did in no manner subscribe to the conference plan in binding terms. As an additional proof, a part of Buchanan's dispatch of the 25th may be mentioned:

He [Sasanow] would like to see the question placed on an international footing. . . . If Serbia should appeal to the Powers, Russia would be quite ready to stand aside and leave the question in the hands of England, France, Germany, and Italy. It would be possible in his opinion that Serbia might propose to submit the question to arbitration.—*British "White Paper" No. 17.*

Hence, not if England, but only if Serbia would propose arbitration by the Powers, Mr. Sasanow was willing! The most amusing part of this is that the Russian Minister himself considers such a proposition on the part of Serbia merely as "possible"; evidently it would have appeared as a great condescension on the part of the Government at Belgrade if it, standing on the same basis as Austria-Hungary, would appear before a European tribunal! For us there is no additional proof necessary that a mediation conference, which for Austria was not acceptable even when proposed by England, would be unthinkable if the move for such came from Serbia. In expressing such an idea, Mr. Sasanow proved that it was his intention to bring war about.

The dispatches of his own Ambassadors lying before him should have enabled the Secretary of State to see the perfidy of the Russian policy. Buchanan wrote on the 28th from St. Petersburg:

. . . and asked him whether he would be satisfied with the assurance which the Austrian Ambassador had, I understood, been instructed to give in respect to Servia's integrity and independence. . . . In reply, his Excellency stated that if Servia were attacked Russia would not be satisfied with any engagement which Austria might take on these two points. . . . —*British "White Paper" No. 72.*

Entirely in contrast herewith is one report of the British representative in Vienna, dated August 1, and speaking of a conversation with the Russian Ambassador there:

Russia would, according to the Russian Ambassador, be satisfied even now with assurance respecting Servian integrity and independence. He said that Russia had no intention to attack Austria.—*British "White Paper" No. 141.*

What, then, may one ask, was the opinion which Sir Edward Grey had formed concerning Russia's real intentions? He learns from Russian sources and notes faithfully that Russia will accept Austrian guarantees for independence of Servia, and also that it will not accept such guarantees. It is the same duplicity which Russia, when its own mobilization was concerned, showed toward Germany. Did Sir Edward not notice this duplicity, or did he not wish to notice it? If the documents of the English Government have not been selected with the purpose to confuse, then in London the decision to take part in the war does not seem to have been a certainty at the beginning. We have seen that Ambassador Buchanan, in St. Petersburg, on July 24, gave the Russian Minister to understand that England was not of a mind to go to war on account of Servia. This position, taken by the Ambassador, was approved by Sir Edward Grey on the following day in the following words:

I entirely approve what you said . . . and I cannot promise more on behalf of the Government.—*British "White Paper" No. 24.*

Germany Not To Be Intimidated

Based upon these instructions, Sir George Buchanan, even on July 27, stated to M. Sazanow, who continued to urge England to join Russia and France unconditionally:

I added that you [Grey] could not promise to do anything more, and that his Excellency was mistaken if he believed that the cause of peace could be promoted by our telling the German Government that they would have to deal with us as well as with Russia and France if she supported Austria by force of arms. Their [the German] attitude would merely be stiffened by such a menace.—*British "White Paper" No. 44.*

But on this same 27th day of July, Grey, submitting to the intrigues of Russian and French diplomacy, had committed one very fateful step (telegram to Buchanan, July 27):

I have been told by the Russian Ambassador that in German and Austrian circles impression prevails that in any event we would stand aside. His Excellency

deplored the effect that such an impression must produce. This impression ought, as I have pointed out, to be dispelled by the orders we have given to the first fleet which is concentrated, as it happens, at Portland not to disperse for manœuvre leave. But I explained to the Russian Ambassador that my reference to it must not be taken to mean that anything more than diplomatic action was promised.—*British "White Paper" No. 47.*

For Russia this order to the fleet meant very much more than a diplomatic action. Sasanow saw that the wind in London was turning in his favor and he made use of it. Among themselves the Russian diplomatists seem to have for a long time been clear and open in their discussion of their real object. You find among the documents of the Russian "Orange Book" the following telegram of Sasanow of July 25 to the Russian Ambassador in London:

In case of a new aggravation of the situation, possibly provoking on the part of the great Powers united action [*des actions conformes*], we count that England will not delay placing herself clearly on the side of Russia and France, with the view to maintaining the equilibrium of Europe, in favor of which she has constantly intervened in the past, and which would without doubt be compromised in the case of the triumph of Austria.—*Russian "Orange Paper" No. 17.*

There is no mention of Servia here, but Austria should not triumph. Russia's real intention, of course, was not placed so nakedly before the British Secretary of State, hence to him the appearance was maintained that the little State of the Save was the only consideration, although the Russian army was already being mobilized with all energy.

On the 28th he wires to the Russian Ambassador, Count Benckendorff, to London to inform the British Government:

It seems to me that England is in a better position than any other Power to make another attempt at Berlin to induce the German Government to take the necessary action. There is no doubt that the key of the situation is to be found at Berlin.—*British "White Paper" No. 54.*

The opinion subtly suggested upon him by Paris and St. Petersburg diplomacy, namely, that he should not use any pressure upon Russia, but upon Germany, now takes hold of Grey more and more. On July 29 he writes to the German Ambassador as follows:

In fact, mediation was ready to come into operation by any method that Germany thought possible if only Germany would "press the button in the interests of peace."—*British "White Paper" No. 84.*

St. Petersburg, now assured of the support of Grey, becomes more and more outspoken for war. On the 28th, Grey again expressed one of his soft-hearted propositions for peace. Mr. Sasanow hardly made the effort to hide his contempt. Buchanan telegraphs on the 29th as follows:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that proposal referred to in your telegram of the 28th inst. was one of secondary importance. Under altered circumstances of situation he did not attach weight to it. . . . Minister for Foreign Affairs had given me to understand that Russia would not precipitate war by crossing frontier immediately, and a week or more would in any case elapse before mobilization was completed. In order to find an issue out of a dangerous situation, it was necessary that we should in the meanwhile all work together.—*British "White Paper" No. 78.*

Naïveté or Cynicism?

Here it really becomes impossible to judge where the naïveté of the British Secretary of State ends and cynicism begins, for Sasanow could not have told to him more plainly than in these lines that all Russia's ostensible readiness for peace served no other purpose than to win time to complete the strategical location of the Russian troops.

This point is emphasized by one document coming from a writer presumably unbiased, but presumably distrustful of Germany, wherein the confirmation is found that England and Russia had come to a full agreement during these days.

On July 30, Belgian Chargé d'Affaires de l'Escaille in St. Petersburg reported to the Belgian Government upon the European crisis. Owing to the fast-developing events of a warlike nature, this letter did not reach its address by mail, and it was published later on. The Belgian diplomatist writes:

It is undeniable that Germany tried hard here [that is, in St. Petersburg], and in Vienna to find any means whatsoever in order to forestall a general conflict. . . .

And after M. de l'Escaille has told that Russia—what the Czar and his War Minister with their highest assurances toward Germany had denied—was mobilizing its own army, he continues:

To-day at St. Petersburg one is absolutely convinced—yes, they have even received assurances in that direction—that England and France will stay by them. This assistance is of decisive importance and has contributed much to the victory of the [Russian] war party.

This settles Grey's pretended "attempts at mediation." The truth is that British politics, decided to prevent a diplomatic success of Germany and Austria, now worked openly toward the Russian aim. "The exertion of pressure upon Berlin" included already a certain threat, mingled with good advice.

On July 23, Grey had only spoken of four possible Powers in war; hence when on the German side some hope of England maintaining neutrality was indulged in, this impression rested upon Grey's own explanations. On July 29, however, after a political conversation with Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador in London, he adds an important personal bit of information. He wires concerning it to Berlin, to Goschen:

After speaking to the German Ambassador this afternoon about the European situation, I said that I wished to say to him, in a quite private and friendly way, something that was on my mind. The situation was very grave. . . . But if we failed in our efforts to keep the peace and if the issue spread so that it involved every European interest, I did not wish to be open to any reproach from him, that the friendly tone of all our conversations had misled him or his Government into supposing that we should not take action. . . . But we knew very well that if the issue did become such that we thought that British interests required us to intervene, we must intervene at once and the decision would have to be very rapid.—*British "White Paper" No. 89.*

But what is especially wrong is that Grey brought this warning, which only could have any effect if it remained an absolute, confidential secret

between the English and German Governments, also to the French Ambassador, so that the entire Entente could mischievously look on and see whether Germany really would give in to British pressure. Of course, in his manner of swaying to and fro, he did not wish either that Cambon should not accept this information to the German Ambassador as a decided taking of a position on the part of England:

I thought it necessary [speaking to M. Cambon] to say that because as he knew we were taking all precautions with regard to our fleet and I was about to warn Prince Lichnowsky not to count on our standing aside, that it would not be fair that I should let M. Cambon be misled into supposing that we had decided what to do in a contingency that I still hoped might not arise. . . . —*British "White Paper" No. 87.*

Stirring Up Trouble

On the German side, Grey's open threat, which was presented, however, with smooth and friendly sounding words, was received with quiet politeness. Goschen telegraphed on the 30th concerning a talk with State Secretary von Jagow:

His Excellency added that the telegram received from Prince Lichnowsky last night contains matter which he had heard with regret, but not exactly with surprise, and, at all events, he thoroughly appreciated the frankness and loyalty with which you had spoken.—*British "White Paper" No. 98.*

Now the work of stirring up trouble is continued unceasingly. On July 30, the British Ambassador in Paris, Sir F. Bertie, concerning a conversation with the President of the Republic, reports:

He [Poincaré] is convinced that peace between the Powers is in the hands of Great Britain. If his Majesty's Government announced that England would come to the aid of France in the event of a conflict between France and Germany . . . there would be no war, for Germany would at once modify her attitude.—*British "White Paper" No. 99.*

Did Grey really think for one moment that the German Empire would change its position immediately—in other words, would suddenly leave its ally in need—or is all this only a mass of diplomatic blandishments?

On the same day Grey steps from the personal warning which he had given to the German Ambassador to the sharpest official threat. In a telegram to the Ambassador in Berlin upon the question placed before him by the Chancellor of the Empire on the day prior (*British "White Paper" No. 85*), whether England would remain neutral if Germany would bind itself, after possible war, to claim no French territory in Europe whatever, while in lieu of the French colonies a like guarantee could not be accepted, Grey answers with thundering words:

His Majesty's Government cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms. What he asks us in effect is to engage to stand by while French colonies are taken and France is beaten, so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from the colonies. From a material point of view such a proposal is unacceptable, for France without further territory in Europe being taken from her could be so crushed as to lose her position as a great Power and become subordinate to German policy. Alto-

gether apart from that, it would be a disgrace for us to make this bargain with Germany at the expense of France, a disgrace from which the good name of this country could never recover.—*British "White Paper" No. 101.*

With this telegram, the war on Germany was practically declared, for as a price of British neutrality an open humiliation of Germany was demanded. If France—the question of French colonies is of very minor importance in this connection—must not be defeated by Germany, then England forbade the German Government to make war. It was furthermore stated that Germany was absolutely compelled to accept Russian-French dictates, and would have to leave Austria to its own resources. This would have meant Germany's retirement from the position of a great Power, even if she had backed down before such a challenge.

III.

THE AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE

Only in the light of the developments concerning England's relation to France, given at the beginning of the war, Grey's policy, swaying between indecision and precipitate action, becomes apparent.

In all the explanations which the British Government in the course of eight years had presented to the British Parliament concerning the relations to other large Powers, the assurance had been repeated that no binding agreements with the two partners of the Franco-Russian alliance had been made, above all, that no agreement with France existed. Only in his speech in the House of Commons on August 3, 1914, which meant the war with Germany, Grey gave to the representatives of the people news of certain agreements which made it a duty for Great Britain to work together with France in any European crisis.

The fateful document, which in the form of an apparently private letter to the French Ambassador, dealt with one of the most important compacts of modern history, was written toward the end of the year 1912, and is published in the British "White Paper" No. 105, Annex 1:

LONDON, FOREIGN OFFICE, November 22, 1912.

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR:

From time to time in recent years, the French and British naval and military experts have consulted together. It has always been understood that such consultation does not restrict the freedom of either Government to decide at any future time whether or not to assist the other by armed force. We have agreed that consultation between experts is not, and ought not to be regarded as, an engagement that commits either Government to action in a contingency that has not arisen and may never arise. The disposition, for instance, of the French and British fleets respectively at the present moment is not based upon an engagement to co-operate in war.

You have, however, pointed out that, if either Government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power, it might become essential to know whether it could in that event depend upon the armed assistance of the other.

I agree that, if either Government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power, or something that threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both Governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and, if so, what measures they would

be prepared to take in common. If these measures involved action, the plans of the General Staffs would at once be taken into consideration, and the Governments would then decide what effect should be given to them.

Yours etc.,
E. GREY.

Parliament Deceived

A few members of the English Parliament who, on August 3, dared to protest gingerly against the war, may have had reason to complain about the hiding of facts from the House of Commons. When such understandings can be made without any one having an idea of their existence, then—so far as England is concerned—the supervision of the Government, theoretically being exercised by a Parliament, becomes a fiction.

As a matter of fact, Grey does not desire to have accepted as political obligations the conversations of the French and English Army and Navy General Staffs concerning the future plans of campaign which took place from time to time in times of peace. However, the true tendency of this agreement, for such it is, gives itself away in the promise to enter immediately with France into a political and military exchange of opinions in every critical situation; it means in reality nothing less than a veiled defensive alliance which, by clever diplomatic manipulations, can be changed without any difficulty to an offensive one, for inasmuch as the English Government promises to consult and work together with France, and consequently also with its ally, Russia, in every crisis, before a serious investigation of the moments of danger, it waives all right of taking an independent position.

How would England ever have been able to enter a war against France without throwing upon itself the accusation of faithlessness against one with whose plans for war it had become acquainted through negotiations lasting through years?

Here a deviation may be permissible, which leaves for a moment the basis of documentary proof.

If one considers how this agreement of such immeasurable consequences was not only hidden from the British Parliament by the Cabinet, but how to the very edge of conscious deceit its existence was denied—in the year 1913 Premier Asquith answered a query of a member of the House of Commons that there were no unpublished agreements in existence, which, in a case of war between European Powers, would interfere with or limit free decision on the part of the British Government or Parliament as to whether or not Britain should take part in a war—then certain reports making their appearance with great persistency in June, 1914, concerning an Anglo-Russian naval agreement are seen in a different light.

Persons who were acquainted with the happenings in diplomacy then stated that the Russian Ambassador in Paris, M. Iswolski, during the visit which the King of England and Sir Edward Grey were paying to Paris, had succeeded in winning the English statesmen for the plan of such an agreement. A formal alliance, it was said, was not being demanded by

Russia immediately, for good reasons. M. Iswolski was attempting to go nearer to his goal, carefully, step by step.

It had been preliminarily agreed that negotiations should be started between the British Admiralty and the Russian Naval Attaché in London, Capt. Wolkow. As a matter of fact, Wolkow, during June went to St. Petersburg for a few days to, as was assumed, obtain instructions and then return to London.

Grey's "Twisty" Answer

These happenings aroused so much attention in England that questions were raised in Parliament concerning them. It was noted how twisty Grey's answer was. He referred to the answer of the Premier, already mentioned, stated that the situation is unchanged, and said then that no negotiations were under way concerning a naval agreement with any foreign nation. "As far as he was able to judge the matter," no such negotiations would be entered into later on.

The big Liberal newspaper, *The Manchester Guardian*, was not at all satisfied with this explanation; it assumed that certain conditional preliminary agreements might not be excluded.

This Russian plan, which was later worked out in St. Petersburg, went into oblivion on account of the rapidly following European War. In the light of the following revelation of Grey's agreement with France, the news of the naval agreement desired by Iswolski assumed another aspect.

Let us return to the Anglo-French agreement. The following remarks by the French Ambassador in London, reported by Grey, proves that, on the ground of this agreement, France, with very little trouble, would be able to make out of a diplomatic entanglement a case for the Allies' interest as far as England is concerned.

A German "Attack"

He [Cambon] anticipated that the [German] aggression would take the form of either a demand to cease her preparations or a demand that she should engage to remain neutral if there was war between Germany and Russia. Neither of these things would France admit.—*British "White Paper" No. 105.*

Therefore, even the demand addressed to France not to, jointly with Russia, attack Germany, became a German "attack," which obliged England to come to the aid!

In spite of this, even on July 27, in a conversation with Cambon, Grey gave himself the appearance as if his hands were free. He told the Frenchman:

If Germany became involved and France became involved we had not made up our minds what we should do; it was a case that we should have to consider. . . . We were free from engagements and we should have to decide what British interests required us to do.—*British "White Paper" No. 87.*

M. Cambon remarked in reply that the Secretary of State had clearly pictured the situation, but on the very following day the French Ambassador

took the liberty to remind Grey of the letter written in 1912 (British "White Paper" No. 105).

Grey did not deny the claim implied in this reminder, but even as late as July 31 he reports as follows concerning the conversation with Cambon:

Up to the present moment we did not feel, and public opinion did not feel, that any treaties or obligations of this country were involved. . . . M. Cambon repeated his question whether we would help France if Germany made an attack on her. I said I could only adhere to the answer that, as far as things had gone at present, we could not take any engagement. . . . I said that the Cabinet would certainly be summoned as soon as there was some new development; that at the present moment the only answer I could give was that we could not undertake any definite engagement.—*British "White Paper" No. 119.*

Now, if we remember that even on the day before Grey had informed the German Imperial Chancellor it would be a shame for England to remain neutral and allow France to be crushed, we here find a new proof of the unreliability of his conduct. If he has been gullible, the declaration of 1912, the dangerous character of which is increased by its apparently undefined tenor, has enmeshed him more and more. Also the military and naval circles, whose consultations with the representatives of the French Army and Navy certainly have been continued diligently since the beginning of the Servian crisis, were forcing toward a decision.

At all events it became more impossible with every hour for Germany to keep England out of the war by any offers whatsoever. This is proved by Grey's conversation of August 1 with the German Ambassador:

He asked me whether if Germany gave a promise not to violate Belgian neutrality we would engage to remain neutral. I replied that I could not say that; our hands were still free, and we were considering what our attitude should be. . . . The Ambassador pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions on which we would remain neutral. I said that I felt obliged to refuse definitely any promise. . . . —*British "White Paper" No. 123.*

Belgium Not the Cause

Hence, only if Germany would permit herself to be humiliated, war with England could be avoided. The violation of Belgium's neutrality was in no way the cause of England joining Germany's enemies, for while German troops did not enter Belgium until the night from August 3 to 4, Grey gave on August 2 the following memorandum to the French Ambassador after a session of the Cabinet in London:

I am authorized to give an assurance that if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power.—*British "White Paper" No. 148.*

As the aim of this decision, of which M. Cambon was informed verbally, was to give France an assurance that it would be placed in a position "to settle the disposition of its own Mediterranean fleet," Grey would not accept the version of Cambon that England would take part in a war with Germany. This is a case of splitting hairs in order to put the blame of starting the war on Germany, for while England promised to protect the French coast and to make it possible for the French fleet to stay in the

Mediterranean, she almost immediately proceeded to a warlike action against Germany, especially as the English Minister simultaneously refused to bind himself to maintain even this peculiar neutrality.

IV.

BELGIAN NEUTRALITY

The highest representatives of the German Empire, with emphatic seriousness, declared that it was with a heavy heart and only following the law of self-preservation that they decided to violate the neutrality of the Kingdom of Belgium, guaranteed by the great Powers in the Treaties of 1831 and 1839.

The German Secretary of State, on August 4, informed the English Government, through the embassy in London, that Germany intended to retain no Belgian territory, and added:

Please impress upon Sir E. Grey that the German Army could not be exposed to French attack across Belgium, which was planned, according to absolutely unimpeachable information. Germany had consequently to disregard Belgian neutrality, it being with her a question of life or death to prevent French advance.—*British "White Paper" No. 157.*

In answer, Grey caused the English Ambassador in Berlin to demand his passports and to tell the German Government that England would take all steps for defence of Belgian neutrality.

This, therefore, represents, in the view which very cleverly has been spread broadcast by British publicity, the real reason for the war. But in spite of the moral indignation that is apparent against Germany, the consideration for Belgium, up until very late, does not seem in any way to have been in the foreground. We find, on July 31, Grey stated to Cambon:

The preservation of the neutrality of Belgium might be, I would not say a decisive, but an important, factor in determining our attitude.—*British "White Paper" No. 119.*

Here, therefore, there was no talk about England grasping the sword on account of Belgium. Now no one will claim that the assumption that the German troops could march through Belgium would be new or unheard of. For years this possibility had been discussed in military literature.*

A Sudden Decision

It must also be assumed that the Belgian Government knew toward the end of July at the latest that the war between Germany and France was probable and the march of Germans through Belgium very possible.

* The book, which appeared at Oxford, "Why We Are at War," mentioned previously, states on page 27 (retranslation):

That such a plan [the marching through Luxemburg and Belgium] had been taken into consideration by the Germans, has been known in England generally for several years; and it has also been generally accepted that the attempt to carry out this plan would bring about the active resistance of the British armed forces; one assumed that these would be given the task of assisting the left wing of the French, which would have to resist German advance from Belgian territory.

This expression on the part of the historical Faculty is very interesting. It shows

If England had not taken part in the war against Germany, it may be assumed that it would have given Belgium the advice to permit the marching through of the German Army, somewhat in the same manner as the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg did, with a protest. In doing so the Belgian people would have been spared a great deal of misery and loss of blood. On August 3, the Belgian Government replied to an offer of military help by France as follows:

We are sincerely grateful to the French Government for offering eventual support. In the actual circumstances, however, we do not propose to appeal to the guarantee of the Powers. Belgian Government will decide later on the action which they may think necessary to take.—*British "White Paper" No. 151.*

One day later London decided to make Belgian neutrality the cause of the war against Germany before the eyes of the world. The Ambassador in Brussels received the following orders:

You should inform Belgian Government that if pressure is applied to them by Germany to induce them to depart from neutrality, his Majesty's Government expect that they will resist by any means in their power, and that his Majesty's Government will support them in offering such resistance, and that his Majesty's Government in this event are prepared to join Russia and France.—*British "White Paper" No. 155.*

Not until England thus stirred Belgium up, holding out the deceptive hope of effective French and English help, did Belgian fanaticism break loose against Germany. Without the intervention of England in Brussels the events in Belgium, one may safely assert, would have taken an entirely different course, which would have been far more favorable to Belgium.

But, of course, England had thus found a very useful reason for war against Germany. Even on the 31st of July, Grey had spoken of the violation of Belgian neutrality as not a decisive factor. On August 1, he declined to promise Prince Lichnowsky England's neutrality, even if Germany would not violate Belgium's neutrality. On August 4, however, the Belgian question was the cause that suddenly drove England to maintain the moral fabric of the world and to draw the sword.

This suddenly became the new development, which was still lacking for Grey in order to justify this war before public opinion in England.

Another English Advantage

And something else was secured by the drawing of Belgium into the war by the British Government, which had decided to make war on Germany for entirely different reasons: the thankful part of the protector of the weak and the oppressed.

As an English diplomat, when Russia was mobilizing, openly stated, the interests of his country in Serbia were nil, so for Grey even Belgium, immediately before the break with Germany, was not decisive. However, *when England had irrevocably decided to enter the war, it stepped out before the limelight of the world as the champion of—the small nations.*

that a plan of campaign between the English and French had long been considered, and that the Belgian entry into the alliance against Germany was a matter agreed upon.

GERMANY AND THE POWERS

(From "*The North American Review*," December, 1914)

When, like a stroke of lightning from a serene blue heaven, the world war broke out in Europe, Americans stood dumfounded, amazed, and horrified. All the attainments of twentieth-century civilization seemed to crumble under their very feet. All the endeavors that had been made to settle international difficulties by treaties or arbitration seemed to be absolutely futile. All the protestations that the various peoples of Europe had been making continuously for peace and good-will were discredited. It was not so much the resentment against the disturbance of trade, the stopping of exports, and inconvenience of unbalanced financial relations, the anxiety for a host of relatives and friends who had been entrapped in the warring countries, that roused this American feeling; the public on this side was deeply hurt in its ethical feeling, in its moral attitude, toward solemn obligations, in its sympathies for smaller nations. What was all that civilization that the world had been boasting of so much? What did the word "culture" mean if from one day to the next Europe could become the field of brutality, burning, and sacking? Was not the world thrown back for a century or more, and were not all the sincere endeavors to bring about a more human state of things by international treaties permanently in danger by this spectacle of treaties being disregarded and torn to shreds? What would all this mean for the United States? Had she not let herself be inveigled into a spirit of security, into an optimism without foundation, into the hope for a better and more peaceful world?

The breaking out of the war was considered here as a crime against humanity, and it cannot be wondered at that the next question was, Who was the author of that crime? Who permitted it, by act of tolerance, to be perpetrated? The answer seemed to come quickly on irrefutable evidence. The brutality of the Austrian ultimatum; the failure of Germany to repress her ally; the Russian feeling for the small boundary states; the French resentment of the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine; the English attitude toward guaranteed treaties—all seemed to be a chain of evidence that laid the blame to the door of Germany, and Germany did not defend herself because she could not—being deprived of direct communication in consequence of the cutting of cables and the stringent British rules against the printing of uncensored news.

So the judgment was quickly formed. It could only be formed on the

evidence presented, one-sided though it was. And, in the absence of facts, Americans had to rely on sentiment which strongly favored the Allies.

The greater the American nation has become the more it has built up a civilization of its own. The more intense national life has grown, the less Americans have had reason to busy themselves with the happenings in far-away countries, and as little as it can be expected that the men in the interior of Russia should know anything of American institutions and statecraft, as little can it be fairly demanded that Americans should be intimately acquainted with the intricacies of European politics.

Therefore it may not be amiss to try to sketch the state of things in Europe as it has been, the various peoples involved, their aims, ambitions, and necessities, the driving forces behind them, and the historical development that resulted in the explosion.

The immediate cause was the trouble between Austria and Servia. Servia has played the foremost part in the Balkans, as Professor Sloane in his remarkable book, "The Balkans, a Historical Laboratory," has pictured. A strong and valorous people, dominated mostly by its clans, practically without industry, a peasant nation, continuously engaged for centuries in fights for national existence and in internal strife for the supremacy of the great chieftains. Expansive, as all the Slav peoples, Servia has sought for many years to enlarge her territory. There were two possibilities: either at the expense of Turkey or at the expense of Austria-Hungary, in whose confines several millions of Serbs are living. "All Slavs are brethren"—that is the doctrine. All Slavs must be under Slavish rulers, and all territory inhabited by Serbs is part of an unalienable inheritance of the Servian kingdom. So, a "Greater Servia" has been the aim of a people who had not many cultural goods to defend, no great wealth to effeminate them, frugal and warlike as they were. In order not to go back too deep into history, I would refer my readers to the Balkan Alliance, consisting of two treaties, the one between Servia and Bulgaria of February 29, 1912, and the second between Greece and Bulgaria of May 16, 1912. These treaties contain secret clauses that were published in 1913 in *Le Matin* of Paris. These secret clauses provide for a division of the Balkans between Servia and Bulgaria on a north-southerly line, leaving the western part to Servia, the eastern part to Bulgaria. The open part of the treaty provides for a purely defensive alliance; the secret part shows the aims and the element that has been dominant in the bringing about of that alliance, directed, as to Servia, against Austria, and as to Bulgaria, against Turkey. This dominant factor is Russia. Article First of the secret clauses says:

That if Servia and Bulgaria convene to act, it is to be communicated to Russia, and if Russia does not oppose itself, the action will proceed. If they cannot agree as to an action, they will apply to Russia, whose decision will be obligatory upon both parties. Should Russia not give any opinion at all and the two parties cannot concert, that party that will undertake an action must proceed alone, the other keeping in friendly neutrality supported by partial mobilization.

Article Three says:

A copy of this treaty and of its secret clauses will be jointly communicated to the Russian Government, which will be asked to take note of it, and to give proof of its good-will regarding the ends sought, and the Emperor of Russia will be asked to kindly accept and approve for his person and his Government the rôle assigned to them in the treaty. All differences that should result from the interpretation or execution of the treaty are to be submitted to the definite decision of Russia.

And Article Five says:

This appendix is not to be published without the consent of Russia.

Thus it will be seen Russia was able to pull the strings, and she did. When Italy seized upon Tripoli, and the Turkish fleet was engaged with the Italian navy that took possession of a number of islands in the *Ægean*, the war was started against Turkey, and it looked for a moment as if she were to be driven out of Europe altogether. But Bulgaria aspired for more of the conquered territory than Russia was willing to concede, for reasons we shall see hereafter, and a new war broke out between Servia and Greece on the one side, and Bulgaria on the other. Bulgaria was brought very near to destruction; then the Czar of Bulgaria addressed himself for help to Austria. It was at this juncture that Russia saw fit to publish the secret clause of the treaty showing that Bulgaria had conspired with her and with Servia to fight Austria. Peace was finally concluded in Bucharest—a peace that was not to the satisfaction of Austria. She tried to engage Germany in her attempt to annul the Bucharest protocol—which Germany refused to do, although thereby greatly grieving her ally, in the interests of the peaceful people of the world. So Servia attained her end in about doubling her size; but the spirit of conquest cannot be repressed once it has started and has been successful. The Servian aim had been to gain free access to a harbor on the Adriatic. Austria had opposed herself, the Greater Servian dream remained still unfulfilled, and Servia now directed her attention to the Austrian provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because the Austrian interests in the western part of the Balkans barred Servia's way to the sea. Then those conspiracies set in, sowing discord among Austrian peoples, inveigling into mutiny Austrian subjects, swamping Bosnia and the south of Hungary with Servian literature; it ended in the murder of the Crown Prince of Austria and his wife on June 28, and nobody who knew anything at all of the doings in the Balkans could have the slightest doubt that Servia only tackled her big neighbor because of the promise of Russia to stand by her, as was evidenced by the treaty above cited. The aims of Servia are commensurate with the nature of her people, with the state of her culture, with the ambitions of her statesmen.

But why did Russia countenance all that? Among all the Slav peoples Russia has been the most restive for ages. She has added to her dominions constantly and is now the empire of the greatest territorial extension. She is autocratic, and she must keep the minds of her people busy. It is from her soil that all the hordes have ever penetrated into Europe, from the times

of Ghengis-Khan and Timur-i-leng—Mongols, Tartars, and Poles. She has spread out east and south, her efforts always alternating in the two directions—an enormous empire that is turning now its efforts toward the building up of an industry. Having been defeated in the East in 1904, unable to retrieve her defeat by Japan in consequence of the British alliance with Japan, and being handicapped in the efforts to reach the Indian Ocean by the British-Russian compact of 1907, she again turned her eyes to the south. World-commerce and world-power are no longer confined to continents. Any considerable export trade demands access to the sea, a mercantile marine, and a certain liberty of movement. Look how she is situated in that respect! This enormous empire, the largest on earth, has not even one outlet to the sea accessible at all times of the year. Her northern harbor, Archangel, is icebound as early as September. It is connected with its industrial center only by one single-track line of more than a thousand miles. The harbor of Kronstadt is equally icebound in the winter, and it is, moreover, only a harbor to the Baltic, that is dominated by Germany. A third harbor, Vladivostok, on the far Japan Sea, is of no account, freezing up also very early in the year. Her attempt to get into the Chinese Sea by way of Port Arthur has been finally frustrated, by Japan forcing Russia to retire from it in 1904, when equally she lost her chance of reaching out by way of Korea. But all the strong Northern peoples have always had their eyes on more clement climates, and there has been from time immemorial a constant pressing of Gauls and Teutons, of Slavs and Mohammedan Indians, toward the ocean to the south. But here again Russia finds herself absolutely barred. All attempts to get free access to the Mediterranean have invariably come to naught. The Powers interested in the Mediterranean did not want another strong Power to compete with them there, or to menace their domination. So Russia in her attempts to break the Turkish rule in the Dardanelles has always been opposed by the rest of Europe. The Crimean War was waged in 1854 against Russia by the combined forces of Turkey, France, and England, and ended in the Paris protocol, re-establishing the control of Turkey over the Bosphorus, and forbidding any men-of-war to pass by Constantinople. When, by the help of Rumania, Russia was victorious in 1878 and forced upon Turkey the treaty of San Stefano, dictating its terms under the very doors of Constantinople, Europe interceded, and Russia was thrown back by the Congress of Berlin, and her efforts were again frustrated. But in 1908 she addressed herself to Austria for a revision of the Paris Treaty of 1856. Austria, while amenable to Russian demands, made her assent contingent upon French and English consent, and these two Powers did not see their way to satisfy her.

So the national tendency of Russia to get to Constantinople, and the Servian ambitions to get an outlet to the Adriatic strengthened the natural political tie between the countries. Now it is easily understood why Bulgaria was not permitted to press forward to Constantinople, or to gain a

great addition to her power. Once on the Bosphorus a "Greater Bulgaria" would prove an unsafe factor to the Russian aims; therefore, Bulgaria was first called back and then defeated with Russian assistance.

What was Austria's interest in this game? Her trade is mostly Oriental. Wherever the Russians go, the open door is closed. The looming up of a big Power on the southerly frontier meant the tearing from her of the Slav parts—a very great danger that in fact necessitated, as every one knows, a huge addition to the Austrian and German armaments in 1913. She could not split up her Slav parts without falling all to pieces. There are Rumanians in the east of Hungary; there are Serbs on the Hungarian frontier on the Danube; there are a great many of the same population in Bosnia-Herzegovina; and then, also, the great Bohemian crown land for the most part is Slav. She had a large interest in maintaining her treaty rights with Turkey. She knew of the relentless hatred of the Serbs, who could not enlarge their frontiers to the West, and the known Russian enmity that barred her way to the Ægean Sea. Austria's situation became unbearable, and the assassination of Serajevo was just a spark that fell into the powder-cask.

But could Germany forsake Austria in her struggle for life that she had to take up? In the first place, Germany had been the ally of Austria ever since 1879, for the avowed purpose of preventing Russian aggression. Then Austria is not only peopled with Slav and Hungarians—she is also a German nation—more than twelve million of her people (about 25 per cent.) being German by race, by language, and by civilization. The partition of Austria would have left that great part of the real kernel and backbone of the Dual Monarchy in a hopelessly impotent and reduced position, surrounded on two sides by people of a different race, inferior cultural attainments, and an easy prey to either of the contending factors. If the bonds of nationality, of language and culture, count for anything, Germany could not do that. And then, for her, there is another consideration of equal importance: Germany is a nation of fast-increasing population. She is industrial for the most part. She can keep her people busy at home only by having the markets of the world open to German goods. The closing of the Bosphorus by Russia would have excluded her enterprise forever from Western Asia, where she has been doing so much cultural work, and would have left the enormous Asiatic Continent to be further divided by England and Russia. All her just endeavors to peaceful commercial expansion would have been thwarted. On the other hand, the breaking up of Austria would have meant a complete isolation of Germany, with the enormous danger of an array of the Powers against her as seen in this war. So when Austria had to fight, as she had, Germany had to join with her.

We now come to the situation of France. It is said that she is fighting for revenge, and revenge is generally interpreted as retribution for the taking of Alsace-Lorraine. But that is only the outward sign of the decay of French power. For hundreds of years France had been the foremost

Power of the European Continent. She was dictating its politics, she dominated the cabinets of Europe, from the times of Richelieu and Louis XIV.; from the time of Mazarin to the French Revolution; from Napoleon I. to Talleyrand's splendid work at the Vienna Congress and as Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, down to finally Napoleon III., the French Court was always the focus of splendor, might, and imperiousness. France has been, as she styles herself always, *la grande nation*, and it was a rude awakening and a terrible disappointment when the power of United Germany definitely removed her from that position. Given to good living and comfort, and to the two-children system, she continuously lost ground as against parsimonious, frugal, and inventive Germany. The well-known tendency of Germany for family life and the raising of children under the home roof made the difference in population every year greater. Thirty-eight millions in 1780 in France and a like number in Germany changed into thirty-nine millions in the former and into nearly seventy millions in the latter country. So she felt that she could not hold her own single-handedly, and she had to seek alliances which were not to be had for the asking. She found an ally in the Russian antagonism toward Germany that had sprung up ever since Bismarck had made himself the "honest broker" of Europe at the Berlin Congress, when the prize of her war against Turkey was definitely wrested from her. France had to engage to finance Russian railways, Russian state needs, and Russian armament. She had to loan to Russia more than ten billion francs of her savings in order to maintain that friendship. So there were two motives that caused France to draw nearer and nearer to Russia and to become the bonded ally to a Power so foreign to French culture and French ideals. The first motive was to regain her lost position in Europe. The second was the fear of losing her savings invested in Russia. Had she stood out, Russia would not have hesitated to cancel all her indebtedness to France by a single stroke of her autocratic pen. It was this sort of entanglement that brought France into this European war.

Let us come to England.

It has been maintained that her jealousy against German trade, German sea power, German industry, and German expansion had been guiding factors. They had certainly a very great deal to do with the public feeling in England, and it is public sentiment to which Great Britain, more than any other nation, thinks she must listen. Sir Edward Grey, in a dispatch, on August 1 (reprinted under No. 123 of the English "White Book"), to Sir Edward Goshen, makes clear this point. He says that the German attitude with regard to Belgium affected feeling in England. If Germany could give the same assurance as France had given, it would materially contribute to relieve anxiety and tension in England. If Belgian neutrality was violated, it would be extremely difficult to restrain public feeling in that country. "He [Count Lichnowsky] asked me whether if Germany would promise not to violate Belgian neutrality we would engage to remain

neutral. I replied that I could not say that. . . . Our attitude would be determined largely by public opinion." He did not think that they could give a promise of neutrality on that condition *alone*. The German Ambassador pressed him as to whether he could not formulate conditions on which England would remain neutral. He even suggested that the integrity of France and her colonies might be guaranteed, but Sir Edward Grey said that he felt obliged to refuse definitely any promise to remain neutral on similar terms, and that England must keep her hands free.

It is clear that public opinion in England, while being strongly influenced by the Belgian case, had other grudges against Germany. That is why Sir Edward Grey would not even formulate conditions to remain neutral if Belgian neutrality was being guaranteed. I wonder why this significant despatch is always disregarded by the Americans formulating a case against Germany. While it is true that this British-German rivalry certainly played a very considerable part in the policy of the British Cabinet, I do not think that it was decisive. The English policy for ages past, adapted to the isolation of the British Isles, has been the maintenance of European equilibrium, by which is meant that England saw to it that Europe was arrayed into two hostile camps, as equally matched as possible, while she kept her hands free in order to throw her weight into the balance of that party that served her aims best. Therefore, when France had to go to war as soon as Russia became involved, she was in great fear that this equilibrium might be seriously disturbed. I believe Sir Edward Grey wanted peace under existing conditions; the equilibrium was there, and England had nothing to complain of. But if war was to be declared, France being much the weaker, it was to be expected that she would be thoroughly crushed by the German war machine and the equilibrium would have gone for good. Even if France was not despoiled of any of her provinces or possessions, yet she would have been materially so much weakened that she could not play any further part in the European concert. So England's interest was bound up with France remaining a comparatively strong Power. And so, with eyes always on that point, England became entangled beyond what she ever expected. As early as November 22, 1912, Sir Edward Grey, without the knowledge of the Cabinet, exchanged letters with the French Ambassador, acknowledging an arrangement whereby the entire French fleet was sent to the Mediterranean to protect the joint interests there while the English fleet was concentrated in the North Sea. This arrangement could not be changed when the war broke out. Sir Edward Grey said that much in a speech on August 3 in the House of Commons. He was bound to protect the French coasts and had to see to it that the French were not being reduced. It will now be understood why the English always talk of the necessity of reducing Germany to a second-rate Power by crushing out her military force. That is the only way by which France can be strengthened and England can return to her former policy. She was afraid of German expansion, as of the German inroads into English trade. But

that was not paramount. Paramount was the English interest of re-establishing a state of things such as had been the case before 1870. She knows that her next big struggle will be with Russia over her Asiatic possessions, and must keep her hands free for that, and be reassured of the state of Europe. Therefore, no matter what happened before war broke out, as soon as it was certain to come she had to be a party to it.

I stated the case of Germany as I proceeded. I have now to speak of three Powers that play a smaller rôle in the conflict: First, there is Japan. Next to Russia, Japan has been the most expansive Power, and since 1894 has acquired possession and control of three times what she had before that date. She is now out for the coast of China, pretending to fight the Germans in Kiaochow, while at the same time taking possession of all the railways from Peking south to the valley of the Yangtse. She means to dominate that part of China, just as she dominates the southern part of Manchuria, by controlling all the lines of communication, fortifying her position along those railways by putting in garrisons under the name of "railway guards," and definitely ousting European competition that cannot be maintained against the craft and frugality of the yellow man. That is a side issue whose bearing upon America I do not feel called upon to detail.

Then there is Portugal. Here there is a remarkable double play. While England is apparently assisting the Republic of Portugal and egging her on to go to war, by telling her that German expansion means a loss of Portuguese colonies, she is harboring at the same time in her confines the ex-King of Portugal; is the center of the royalist revolutionary movements against Portugal, and she feels assured that whichever way this struggle turns she will have all the advantage.

Then I come to the case of Belgium, that made so much stir in the United States. She, also, is not to be exonerated from blame. Belgium feels much safer as a buffer state in the interests of England, who, she believed, would maintain her independence and integrity, as England cannot permit any first-class Power to control the entrance to the North Sea. Belgium belongs geographically to Germany. So by playing upon Belgian fear that she, whose main harbor, Antwerp, is a natural outlet to the growing German industries, would become a German vassal, and by promising Belgium British help, assisting her in her fortifications, she made Belgium resist the two overtures of the German Chancellor, who promised integrity and indemnity in case Germany marched through Belgium. I will not dwell here on the treaty relations which Mr. Gladstone himself called a most complicated affair, and which he thought must not be maintained if they were against English interests at the time when the occasion of acting under the guarantee arose. It was Great Britain's interest that this neutrality should be kept, but it was certainly not England's reason for the war, as is made clear by the dispatch of Sir Edward Grey cited above.

The German Government has been taxed with considering treaties as

"scraps of paper." That is certainly not the German record, nor the German position toward treaties. But this treaty was a scrap of paper; the English on their side did not put any faith in it, nor were they prepared to maintain it under all circumstances. They did not consider it enforceable in 1870, and replaced it by new arrangements between the North German Confederation and France. The Chancellor regretted very much that he had to go through Belgium, although Belgium had broken that treaty herself in spirit and in letter. The American doctrine is that treaty obligations must not and cannot be kept if it is against public policy (*vide* unanimous judgment rendered in the Chinese Exclusion Treaty cases by the United States Supreme Court, printed in Vol. 130 of *U. S. Reports*, page 600). And I must say that it is one thing to ask a private individual to keep an obligation, even when suffering great loss and inconvenience, and another if a statesman responsible for sixty-six million people who are in danger of losing their liberty, national existence, and civil rights takes upon himself to encounter criticism by the world at large. Belgian neutrality was an instrument played very skilfully by Sir Edward Grey as a moral proposition. In fact, it was a proposition of public interest also for England, and neutrality had to be protected if England wanted to retain a dominant position on both sides of the Channel.

Then there is another aspect of the matter that Americans generally overlook. They always talk of Germany and Russia and the other countries as doing such and such things. They talk of statesmen having acted so or otherwise. They forget that behind these statesmen, behind these countries, there are hundreds of millions of people who have a life and a volition of their own. They forget that most of these States are guided and conducted by sets of people who do not appear very much in the foreground. The Servian people by itself has probably not been very willing to go to war again after the experience of 1912. There was a Crown Prince who was the real ruler behind the throne, and the military and clan party who, as it is now proven beyond any possibility of refutation, engineered a plot against the Crown Prince of Austria, spread a large propaganda, and drove the people to war by telling them that Austria wanted to exterminate the Servian people, notwithstanding the explicit guarantee of Austria that she would not take any Servian territory. The same is the case in Russia. The Russian people are very illiterate and uncultivated. Seventy out of one hundred Russians do not know how to read and write. They do not read papers. They follow the dictates of their clergy, the call of their "white" Czar, and implicitly believe what they are told. There is a military clique in Russia that has been constantly pressing upon the peaceful Czar that now was the time to get all the things they had wanted for so long. The Czar refused, and closed himself up for four days. The Minister of War was not in the councils of the war party, so it happened that the Russian mobilization went forward without the Czar's signature and after the Minister of War had given his word of honor that no mobilization had

been ordered. This Grand-Ducal party finally got the upper hand, as reported by the Belgian Minister in St. Petersburg on July 30 to his home Government, after having received the assurance that England would second France in case of a conflict. And this was before the Belgian incident ever arose.

Similar conditions obtained in Austria. The Archduke Francis Ferdinand had always cherished the plan of reconciling the Slav portion of the Empire by making out of the dual Monarchy a tripartite arrangement. Hungary, that would thereby lose most, was much against it. So when the Archduke was out of the way and the Hungarian Premier pressed for a more determined policy, the old Emperor was not able to make the same strong resistance.

And the same holds good also in respect to England. Sir Edward Grey never communicated the exchange of letters with the French Ambassador in 1912 to his colleagues. But when this matter could no longer be kept back, the Cabinet was amazed. Three of its members stepped out at once, declaring that they would not have anything more to do with the Government. They were Mr. John Burns, Lord Morley, and Mr. Trevelyan, who in a letter to his constituents in Ellford declared that they had always been told that the hands of England were entirely free, that they were not obligated to France in any way, but that he had found out, to his disgust, that England was so hopelessly entangled that she had to go to war. The leader of the Socialist party, Ramsay MacDonald, most severely criticized the Administration upon the same grounds, and the Liberal member of Parliament, Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, wrote a letter most severely arraigning Sir Edward Grey on his double dealing. But there were some hotheads, like Winston Churchill and Lloyd-George, and then there was the enormous danger of the Irish civil struggle that loomed up on the horizon and whose consequences could absolutely not be foreseen in a time of European conflagration. The Irish leaders were induced, by the passing of a Home Rule Bill of a very deceptive kind, to come to the aid of the Government, upon the ground of patriotism and national danger.

The only nation that is absolutely united to its Government is Germany. She knows, and it will be apparent to any thoughtful reader of the above recital, that all the nations around her want something of her—have an interest in the struggle, and are willing to fight under all circumstances. Russia wants Constantinople and the weakening of the Austrian Monarchy; England demands the reduction of Germany to a subordinate Power; France, the re-establishment of her former dominating rule of Europe. Surely, no one would consider Germany so insane and absolutely bereft of common sense that she should have desired and permitted all the nations in whose way she had been to fall on her, thereby catering for her own destruction? Will it be believed that a nation that has been constantly striving for peace, the only one of all European nations that has not had war for forty-four years, has never expanded except peacefully, never acquired territory ex-

cept by treaty, knowing that a combination of much stronger Powers threatened her from all sides, would go wilfully and light-heartedly to fight nearly the whole world? And what had she to gain if she were victorious?

So I put my case, not on doubtful evidence, or on the teachings of people who want to make believe to the American public that diplomacy is the school of truthfulness and that diplomatic papers are a clean source of information, but I put my case, and I rest it, on the history of Europe, on the forces that have been at work, not since the 28th of July, but for many years past, whose self-interest I have made evident and whose powers, aims, and ambitions are explained—an explanation which the average American scholar will be able to verify every day. Germany is united because she knows that she is fighting for her very life and existence, and against Powers who wish to reduce her to her former state of impotency and weakness and to undo the great work of Bismarck, to crush, under Slav dictation, forces that have been a boon to the civilization and advancement of the world.

THE TIES THAT BIND AMERICA AND GERMANY

The Great Infusion of German Blood in the American People, the Common Commercial Interests of the Two Nations, and Their Intellectual Fraternity

To all thinking people the great European War is not only of interest as a matter of contemporaneous history, as a touchstone of ethics and civilization, but it leads them of necessity to the consideration as to what the bearing of the struggle or its possible outcome may mean to the people of the United States. The whole net-work of international relations has been exposed by the various warring factions trying to explain to themselves and to the rest of the world the reasons that have brought this conflagration about. The undercurrents of international diplomatic action have been laid bare, and matters are brought to the public attention in America that seemed until now very foreign to the actual struggle. Happily, however, the American people can congratulate themselves that they are not directly concerned in the war, and it is as intelligible as it is wise that they should try to avoid to be drawn into the difficulty at all. Yet as in a physical person the ailing of one limb affects the well-being of the whole body, so any disturbance of a considerable part of the European Continent must needs affect the rest of the world. Modern development has made it clear that all real efficiency rests on a division of energies and functions adapted to a particular purpose and to the genius of the parts working together to reach a certain specified end. As in the work-shop of any individual, this holds good in that enormous workshop of the world. It applies not only to the production and exchange of commodities; it also applies to the ethical and spiritual field. The relations of the various peoples, the scientific as well as the commercial intercourse between them, is now being very seriously disturbed, and since every responsible mind feels called upon to investigate this disturbance, it cannot fail that a certain revision even of the feelings and tendencies must occur. So there has been everywhere in the United States, while the people were honestly trying to come to a fair judgment and preserve full neutrality, such a revision of sentiment: one party favoring more the success of the Allies, the other wishing the German cause to prevail. To deepen the sentiment, and to justify it, people dug into history, because history alone gives a clue to the logical development of present-day situations. So I propose in this article to trace the history of German-American relations, showing the bonds that so firmly hold together sympathies as well as interest between the two countries.

Next to Germany itself, no country on earth—even not excepting Austria—has so much German blood infused into it as the United States. While in Austria there are just about twelve million people speaking German,

there had no fewer than five and a half million Germans immigrated into the United States between 1829 and 1912. And as these people have multiplied considerably in their new and propitious surroundings, the estimate that no less than a quarter of the white population of the United States are either of German parentage or have German blood in their veins does not seem at all exaggerated. Certainly, the German immigration in the nineteenth century reaches a total considerably larger than that of any foreign element. As against about five million immigrants from Germany, there are three million nine hundred thousand from Ireland, three million from England, Scotland, and Wales, and one and a half million from Norway, Denmark, and Sweden.

America a Refuge for Political Exiles

Why has the United States proved so attractive especially to Germans? The history of the colonization of all the world shows two reasons that cause people to emigrate from their home country. It is not an easy thing, especially for the more sentimental German, to give up his home, leave behind relatives and friends, part from the graves of parents and ancestors, and seek a new home in a far-away and unknown country. It is still more difficult for a German, for while the English and Irish have at least the advantage of an identity of language, the German from the lower walks of life has no great facility to learn an idiom quite new to him. But the two reasons that bring about emigration have been stronger in Germany than in other countries. The first is, political and social pressure, lack of opportunity to develop the faculties of the mind and to take a part in the development of the nation. The other is the difficulties arising in making the necessary living, finding the necessary room for expanding and keeping together the family. In a word, commercial, industrial, and agricultural stagnation. Both these reasons have been very potent factors in bringing over such an enormous number of my countrymen. The nation had got a big impulse a hundred years ago when the crushed Germany rose as one man to drive out and destroy the French usurper; the greatest hopes were entertained for a new Germany as a result of that supreme effort. Thus when the diplomatists got together in 1815 in Vienna and rearranged the map of Europe, all the old dynasties returned to their antiquated and autocratic tendencies, the dangers of the French Revolution still fresh in their minds. The Holy Alliance between Russia, Austria, and Prussia was formed; German national feeling counted for nothing, and the German country was reduced to and kept in an impotent state in the form of a loose agglomeration directed by an assembly appointed by the rulers of some thirty German States without any popular consultation. But the men who shed their blood for the liberation of the Fatherland, who had for years worked and prepared for it, and had not done it alone in order to fight an external foe, but also in order to increase civic rights and national advancement, did not mean to be put down. So the next two decades saw a period of internal fight between the more liberal upper strata and the organized police power:

reformers were being prosecuted under the name of "demagogues," tried and cruelly imprisoned, and, despondent of ever attaining their ends, they sought a new home in that country that was peacefully, but effectively, developing the policy of the freedom of men. This was the first wave of intellectual Germany that was carried over on to these shores. And the same happened in 1848, when a new effort to put my country on a more liberal basis, after a short and partial success, was again mulcted by those identical Powers of the past, a furious war being waged on all the participants in the Revolution of 1848, a great number being shot, and others being imprisoned. So, again, this political pressure brought another intellectual set, thirsty for civic liberty and wishing and willing to take an active share in the framing of their own destinies, to America. So it happened that these Germans did not only come in quest of a more liberal form of government, but they were already imbued with democratic ideals, and this element did not only profit by the existence of liberal institutions in the United States, but it did also greatly help and further the development of these same institutions to a very large degree.

While political pressure mostly affects the more cultured upper classes, economic pressure invariably brings the lower classes into motion, because everybody tries to hold on as long as he possibly can to his old surroundings, and the people must, so to say, "be pressed out of the country." The point of least resistance will always be found with the people of small means, large families, and lesser gifts.

Emigration Under Economic Pressure

All Europe suffered in the end of the 'forties under a succession of crop failures. Americans know how these failures especially affected Ireland, almost a one-crop country. The potato crops failed entirely, and as the dominating nation, the English, either did not care, or could not alleviate the distress, Ireland lost about half its population, sending it to foreign shores. Very much the same happened in Germany. Population increased, crops were poor, industrial development was of the lowest order, so people became very easily unrooted. But on the other side of the water, in America, the discovery of the gold-bearing sands of California loomed up as a glowing spectre on the western horizon, and during the next two decades a continual stream of German immigration was poured into the United States. This stream continued even after the excitement over the discovery of gold abated. While the economic pressure continued in Europe, reports came from the settlers of earlier times of the splendid opportunities that the liberal land policy of the United States gave, and the extent of this movement may be gauged from the fact that in the Civil War no fewer than one hundred and seventy-seven thousand born Germans fought on the side of the North—a very much larger percentage than that contributed by all other foreign elements. It is commonly supposed that the Irish element gave the largest proportion to the Union Army, but that is not so. As

against one hundred and seventy-seven thousand German Europeans, there have been counted one hundred and forty-four thousand Irish. And Mr. Faust, in his admirable work on "The German Element in the United States," states that no fewer than five hundred thousand people of German extraction fought for the preservation of the Union.

The Panic of 1873

Soon after the Civil War, Bismarck brought about the German unification, which put at once a different aspect on the German problem. The war of 1870 gave an enormous impetus, both politically and economically, to the German people. Up to that time we felt Prussian, and Bavarian, and Saxon in our immediate relations to our Government. In America we were called fondly "Dutchmen." A nation of Germany exists only since 1870. But the tendency to develop, to build up economically the new empire, did not take into account that the wealth necessary for the carrying on of the enormous enterprises started was insufficient for the purpose. The payment of the billion dollars by France and the repayment out of that fund of all the war claims, the pouring of so much gold into the commercial arteries without an effective distributing organization, led to the "Krach" of 1873. There were no banks of sufficient strength, there was no reserve power, to help enterprises that got stuck. Curiously enough, at that time Germany was so little developed economically that the standard share in which everybody gambled was not a German, but an Austrian, security—the shares of an Austrian Credit Institute. As a consequence, a great many of the newly commenced industries had to be dropped. So Germany experienced an enormous reverse, and the stream of emigration had to go on. It took about five years to overcome this, and in 1879 a change in the policy of Germany took place; Bismarck going from the free-trade tack over to the one of a moderate protection. The influence of the teachings of America in that direction are unmistakable. The American theory of protecting infant industries by a comparatively high tariff appealed to Germany, then in a similar state. Germany became rapidly industrialized. It meant that the people could be kept at home, employed in industry, paid good wages. Although in the early 'eighties we have yet some such figures of emigration from Germany as 280,000, it very soon ceased to be of any account. Since 1894 it has practically ceased. In 1912 only 18,000 people emigrated, while, as a matter of comparison, British emigration ran as high in the same year as 469,000.

German Emigration Now Stopped

Germany is now keeping all her people busy at home. Although the population has risen from thirty-nine millions in 1870 to nearly seventy millions in 1914, she is even now short of hands and employing constantly between one and one-half million and one and three-quarter million of foreigners in her mines and her agriculture. Even in her colonies there are not more than twenty-three thousand Germans living at this time. This

change in the industrial situation necessitated the establishment of a number of distributing agencies. The growth of national feeling brought now to the fore high-class Germans who established themselves in foreign countries, but in contradistinction to the former practice these men retained their nationality and stayed distinctly German. To distribute the enormous production, the establishing of a merchant marine was necessary. Within forty years, German trade has increased 500 per cent, while the English trade has only increased 150 per cent. The watchword became "Efficiency." Efficiency means, to do everything by the most approved methods and at the least cost, which could only be done by Germans becoming independent in shipping, insurance, and finance: all of which is now being done by German national houses, who have helped enormously to increase the wealth of the United States. But these methods were not of Germany's invention. They could be found in the United States and were adapted to German needs, and a certain kind of "Americanization" of German business took place. On the other hand, the German leaning to thoroughness, a fortunate working together of theoretical and applied science, a thorough primary and technical education, helped the German mind to develop a number of specialties such as she must export in order to maintain her balance of trade. Germany is not a rich country: we are nearly independent from the rest of the world for our food supply, but as to raw material (except coal, which we have in unmeasured extent) we are dependent upon international commerce. Copper, cotton, and oil we do not produce, and we have been among the best customers of the United States in cotton, and the best in the other two articles. If we had to pay for them in cash, we would very soon have come to the end of our gold resources.

Our Friendly Trade Relations

Since America is, even up to this date, not a creditor, but a debtor nation, she can not lend any considerable amount for any length of time to other countries. So we have to pay in produce, chief of all, in our chemical products, and especially potash, of which we have a sort of monopoly. Then, the tendency of keeping our people at home and having them work in their own houses, and a certain tender feeling for the produce of our own hands, have developed an enormous toy industry that stands, strange to say, second on the list of the exports to the United States. There are, furthermore, scientific apparatus, lithographic papers, and a host of small articles that are being constantly shipped, and while none of the single items making up the German import of the United States is more than nine million dollars a year, the whole of it amounts to about one hundred and sixty millions. We import about double that amount from the United States. One hundred and ten million dollars' worth of cotton, seventy-five million dollars' worth of copper, forty millions' worth of wheat, twenty millions' of mineral oils. So we are indebted to the amount of one hundred and fifty million dollars every year to the United States. How do we pay for that? There comes another

interesting phase of German-American relations. I have spoken of the social pressure exercised in the first part of the last century, but this social pressure did not only affect Germans by race, but it was most strongly felt by the very enterprising Jewish element, who lacked equality of rights, and even after that had been given them in letter it was very often not kept in spirit. So this connection of social pressure, with the enormous advantages of the new country, caused a Jewish emigration, that formed a very valuable instrument for placing American securities in Germany. These people enjoyed the confidence of their compatriots at home, and when they recommended in 1862-3 the taking of the bonds of the North, a very large amount of the "seven thirty" bonds were sold in Germany. When the Pacific railroads were constructed, the bonds of the Central Pacific, of the California & Oregon, and Oregon & California found a large market in Germany. When Mr. Villard (himself a German by birth) undertook the completion of the Northern Pacific, more than fifty million dollars of its bonds (a very large amount, at that time) went to Germany. The coupons of these securities helped to make up the balance of trade, but most of it comes from profits of German houses, insurance premiums, the freights in American produce in German vessels, the remittances of Germans living in the United States to their home people, and other items of that character. There has been a constant give and take between these two countries, by which both of them fared extremely well. There has never been any clash of interest between the two peoples. There has always been an expansion of their mutual relations. There is, furthermore, a considerable number of American industries established in Germany. The Westinghouse Brake Company has a factory in Hanover. The Standard Oil Company has a great organization in our country. So has the Singer Sewing Machine Company and various typewriter and cash-register concerns. There is a constant interchange between the great German and American electric concerns which, to the absolute exclusion of England, are domineering all the world.

And with all this work on the materialistic side of life, the scientific and ethical sides have never been lost sight of. German and American sciences are constantly exchanging their newest attainments, and a great many American and German universities are having exchange professors. International conferences in both countries have always the largest contingent from Germany and America, and while we no longer send our intelligent people abroad for good, as we formerly had to do, we have surmounted all the difficulties in language, of the difference in the turn of mind, and now freely enjoy, and ungrudgingly, the great steps forward made in the United States.

There is in the world a great community of all people of intellect—a great flow of thought—and a solidarity of ethics, that goes on unhampered without respect to what happens in the outer world. And though there may be differences on some points, we always feel the cordiality of the American people in the spiritual life, and are grateful for the ties in our common industrial and commercial advancement.

GERMANY'S FOOD SUPPLY

Will the Germans Have an Ample Quantity of Bread and Meat for Armies and Civil Population During the Next Two Years?

(From "The Review of Reviews")

[It is in compliance with the request of the Editor of this Review that Dr. Dernburg presents the interesting data upon Germany's agriculture that will be found in the present article. Dr. Dernburg typifies Germany's efficient men of affairs who have built up the Empire's financial and industrial strength. He is one of the foremost of Berlin's bankers, is a member of the upper house of the Prussian Parliament, was for four years the Emperor's Minister of Colonies, and is a man of an extraordinary range of information, not only regarding the political, industrial, and military affairs of Germany, but also regarding the conflicts and rivalries of the great nations for foreign trade and colonial empire.—EDITOR REVIEW OF REVIEWS.]

This is asking a very broad question and one that can not be answered with any degree of correctness unless the scope of the inquiry be limited as to time. I shall, therefore, only try to give my answer for a space, say, of two years. But this answer also depends greatly upon the march of events, which may change the whole picture. I assume that Germany will hold on to Belgium and to the western part of Poland, but am not taking into consideration any foodstuffs that might be gotten from France, although it is just as likely as not that Germany will lay her hands on Havre.

Supplies from Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium

There is, furthermore, the question of the prisoners of war and the returning refugees, which might become a serious problem, if the prisoners of war in Germany, who number now about 300,000, should by Russian defeat be swollen to, say, a million. This is quite possible, in view of the fact that the battle at Tannenberg alone resulted in 90,000 prisoners. War is being waged on Germany by all her neighbors, except the three little States of Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, the traffic connection with which can not be interrupted, and which will be under the necessity of doing a good deal of trade with Germany.

They were regularly providing Germany, before the war, with meat, dairy products, fruit, barley, wheat, all of which they will continue to furnish, together with Sweden, and that the more since the chief customer for some of these products, namely England, has shut herself off by strewing the North Sea with mines.

The same is the case with Belgium. Danish dairy products are of so high a quality that they could only be purchased in England by the rich class, so the ordinary traffic in vegetables, poultry, and butter has been done always between Belgium and England. This, of course, will all be

available for Germany as soon as Belgian agriculture has been built up again. This, by the way, is one of the things that will be done by Germany as soon as Belgium has been liberated entirely from her invaders.

From Italy and Other Neighbors

Then there is, of course, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria. And it does not look—in spite of French temptation and the liberal use of money among the Italian mobs by the French Ambassador—as if Italy would swerve from virtue. She is growing enormous quantities of vegetables, fruit, wines, rice, and must export it to maintain her balance of payment. Now, while Germany is being hampered on all sides and practically cut off from the sea, a great many former consumers of Italian goods are also cut off, and there will be a surplus to be shipped to Germany, because it can not go anywhere else.

So, for instance, the eastern part of France and all of the western part of Russia, though I do not think that these countries will cut a very great figure. Then there is another factor that is very potent in an emergency of the present kind. No blockade, no closing of frontiers, no arrangements between authorities, will ever prevent the trickling through of considerable materials to the best payer. But that I leave entirely out of count. My figures are made up without regard to contraband, without regard to Rumanian wheat and maize, or anything else that Bulgaria may be able to spare, or to such wheat and maize as may come from Asia Minor, whence the way is absolutely open to Germany without regard to any breadstuffs from Italy, as I consider these items merely as offsets against such foodstuffs as Germany may be called upon to use in feeding a population that is not her own.

By Way of Antwerp

This population will certainly be the first to suffer. If the Allies turn their war on Germany into a war of starvation, they must be prepared for the fact that whichever Allies are in our hands will get the first show. Even if England should continue to prescribe to the United States what amounts of wheat, cotton, and other things she should sell, even if she sends the stuff in her own bottoms to neutral countries, she can not prevent any shipping in the Baltic nor regulate the overland traffic of home-grown produce of neutral countries; otherwise she would place herself in the position of a general distributor of food for half of the world, hampering not only the trade of the United States, but also mostly that of the small nations, which she would make believe to be so dear and near to her big heart.

Besides, there may be windfalls for Germany, which England has not counted upon. I rather suspect that Antwerp will prove such a windfall, although the Allies have taken care to destroy a lot of American property in the oil tanks, so as to prevent their falling into the hands of the Germans. But then, there will be some beautiful fishing now in the Scheldt and neighboring waters, and the Dutch sole is not to be despised. Of course, there

will be some delicacies that Germany will have to forego; for instance, there may be some difficulty in getting enough cocoa, but of coffee there are enormous amounts stored in Hamburg, and there will be no deficiency.

German Rye and Wheat

So the main point will be, how is Germany to provide herself with breadstuffs, meat, fresh vegetables, and fruit, the first two as necessities for life, the last as indispensable for the health of the people? Now, taking the average year, we can say, counting wheat and rye together (and as information for the Americans I must add that rye-bread is *the* bread for Germany), there is a deficiency of a million to a million and a quarter of tons that Germany does not raise herself, which is about 6 per cent of the total consumption. This will probably have to be replaced by some other food-stuff, and the one that is presenting itself is the potato, the average crop of which is about fifty million tons, but this year we have as much as 80,000,000 tons.

Potatoes—in Bread Form

In the last years the art of preserving the potato has been a great problem in Germany. For a long time the military authorities had offered a premium for a good method of preserving potatoes. This premium has now been withdrawn, as the question can be considered as having been solved. There are various methods of preserving them. In the first place, they are being cut up in very small slices and dried, the same way as all the California dried vegetables are offered in these markets. Then they have been converted into a most nutritious flour, which has heretofore been used to make cake and pastry, and this will now be added to the bread up to 20 per cent.

Now, it must be understood that 80,000,000 tons of potatoes means just about a ton and a quarter per head of the German population, equivalent to about four pounds a day all the year round for each German, women and children included. This potato crop has heretofore been mostly worked into alcohol, partly for consumption in industries, partly for beverages. But there is a very determined war being conducted in Germany against alcoholic beverages, and no soldier has been permitted even a drink of beer since the first day of mobilization.

Sugar Lands for Alfalfa

Then, of course, the food needs of the population will always have the precedence over any use of alcohol in the arts. Thus there will be a large surplus, which will more than make up any deficiency in wheat or rye. But that is not all the end of it. Germany has been raising an average of 2,500,000 tons of sugar, whereof about half is being exported.

Now, sugar has been harvested in Germany for this year, and can not be exported; consequently there is a two-years' supply on hand, which would

mean that the big acreage employed in the raising of sugar-beets is available for such crops as might be short. On fields which grew sugar-beets, anything else can be planted and will give big harvests. There may be some shortage of fodder for animals, because a great deal of that has ordinarily been imported. Accordingly, this sugar ground will probably be sowed to alfalfa and other good haymaking crops, and so there will be no difficulty on this account either. One can say, therefore, no shortage of bread-stuffs ought to be expected under these conditions.

Some Beef, Ample Pork

Americans are aware that the importation of meat into Germany has been partly prohibited, partly made impossible for a number of years, in order to give the incentive to German agriculture to raise home provisions. Ever since we knew that beef production was more or less monopolized, we have been working intensely to become independent. So at the last counting there were no fewer than 20,000,000 beeves, 5,000,000 sheep, 3,000,000 goats, and 26,000,000 hogs in Germany. By the way, there were also about 5,000,000 horses.

Beef takes about three years to ripen, while hogs are ready within the year in which they are born. This means that Germany is able to produce every year about 8,000,000 beef animals, 5,000,000 sheep and goats, and 26,000,000 hogs, and with the peasants and laborers the pork is preferred on account of its cheapness and nutritious quality. That it makes a very good food everybody will agree, who has ever tasted Westphalian ham or Göttinger sausages.

Food for Animals

Therefore, provided we can feed the animals, there will always be enough meat,—and I do think we can manage it. There are enormous areas in Germany, especially in the northwestern part, that can be turned into hayfields at short notice. As for vegetables, we have partly to rely on southern Germany, Belgium, and Italy. But the chief purveyor of late years has been Holland; and she being cut off from the English market, will yield the desired quantities. So the situation is at present entirely satisfactory, and the starving out of Germany will prove just as much a piece of British braggadocio as, for instance, Mr. Churchill's digging out of the German fleet on the very day of the loss of three British cruisers.

Labor for Agriculture

But what about the future? In the first place, the question will be that of farm labor. There are 66,000,000 Germans. Of these, 5,000,000 have been called to arms. This leaves 61,000,000. A great many industries have stopped, and all their hands are free. The German love for home and the little garden, the slice of field, and the custom of keeping at least one hog, make all these people familiar with agriculture.

But then, there are now 33 per cent of the German population engaged wholly in agriculture; and what about 300,000 Russian prisoners and as many French and Belgian prisoners? These may be employed in such crafts as they understand, according to The Hague protocol. They will be made to work for their keeping. Besides, moreover, the large estates in Germany have been worked for years past by machinery run by electricity, all of which has been driven by water-power.

Will War Stimulate Invention?

So we finally come down to the question whether we have decent harvests. Of course, a complete crop failure would be a serious matter for Germany in times of war, as well as in times of peace. But there is one element that must not be overlooked; there is nothing that incites so much the inventive genius as an emergency. It is known that Germany holds the best fertilizers of all the world in unmeasured quantities of potash, and it is known also that the necessary nitrates are being obtained by resolving the air into its component parts by electricity. The war will bring out any number of devices—processes that have been too expensive so far in competition—which will be taken up and made more perfect. Products will be turned to use that have never been thought of before. Like a good housewife who must get along suddenly upon a limited stipend per week, because some hardship has befallen her husband, so a nation, convinced of its good cause, and fairly successful in arts up to the present, will find its way and be able to buck up against the humanitarian English proposal of starving it out.

WHEN GERMANY WINS

(From "The Independent")

[We have heard a great deal about what England and France are fighting for. We have heard very little—except from English sources—about what Germany is fighting for. Here is a chance to read the other side.

Dr. Dernburg stands for what we Americans most admire in modern Germany, its industries, its commerce, its technical schools, and its efficient organization. When the Kaiser put him at the head of the Colonial Office in 1907 it was a great shock to the Junkers, who thought that such high positions were the natural monopoly of those of noble lineage and resented the appointment of a business man, and, what was worse, a business man of American training, as successor to Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg. But the Kaiser was tired of the bureaucratic and military methods of administration in the colonies and wanted to have them developed and made self-supporting instead of remaining a drain on the Imperial Treasury. Herr Dernburg made a personal inspection of the African possessions and would probably have made them in time as profitable as the British colonies, if he had been able to carry out his program of reforms. In "The Independent" of January 17, 1907, will be found an account of what his administration meant to Germany.

Herr Dernburg is the son of an editor of the Berlin "Tageblatt" and was born in Darmstadt fifty years ago. After graduating from the Berlin gymnasium he came to New York City in order to learn American ways, and was for some years in the banking house of Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co. After his return to Germany he became a director of the Bank of Darmstadt. He is now in this country on an important mission. As a man thoroughly familiar with American history and politics as well as finance he understands our point of view and can interpret to us the point of view of his own country. Those whose enterprise has brought their country into the front rank of commercial nations within a single generation are better representatives of the real Germany than militarists or semi-Slavonic theorists.—EDITOR INDEPENDENT.]

What will Germany do if she is entirely victorious? This question has been addressed to me by a number of American friends, time and again. And when I said that it seemed to me premature to make any such forecast, I was met with the reply that the Allies were not so overcautious, and had very freely said what they intended to do to Germany and Austria if they got the chance.

The most lenient of these programs runs about like this: The crushing of German militarism (Mr. Asquith); the destruction of the German fleet (Winston Churchill); the reduction of Germany to a subordinate Power, the breaking up of the Prussian hegemony (Lloyd-George). Of course, Belgium is to be restored and a large slice of German and Dutch territory to be added to it; Alsace-Lorraine is to be returned to France with a big indemnity in land on the left bank of the Rhine; the Polish provinces of Germany to go to Russia; Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark. And a similar program has been announced as regards the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Finally, of course, Russia is to conquer Turkey and to absorb the whole Ottoman Empire. In short, what is intended is to reduce Germany to the position she had in 1806 after the victories of Napoleon I., which would

strike her out of the list of the great nations, and would make her subordinate to the good will of the victors.

That such a program can never be carried through, even partially, as long as there remain a hundred thousand Germans capable of bearing arms, needs not be emphasized.

But that (in view of these acknowledged demands of the Allies) it might be of some interest to Americans to know what Germany would do if she was in the position in which the Allies love to mirror themselves, I will concede.

I am speaking here as a thinking German, who knows the history of his country and who wishes her to profit from past experience, always keeping in mind that it is now the time to settle the European question for a hundred years to come, and to take care of the probable increase of our population, to secure its livelihood and prosperity. While France has remained practically stationary in her population, the regular annual increase of the German people is about 800,000 souls.

American readers who have followed Germany's development since she became a united empire will very easily be able to check my views by comparing them with the known ambitions of my people, and drawing the necessary inferences from German popular, industrial, and commercial development.

Territorial Expansion in Europe

While there may be some minor corrections of frontiers for military purposes, by occupying such frontier territory as has proven a weak spot in the German armor, I do not consider it wise, nor, I believe, do the leading people of my country, for Germany to take any European territory. She is now holding practically all the land inhabited by the German-speaking population of the world, with the exception of the Baltic provinces of Russia. Whether these could be added to the German Empire would hinge on the question whether they could be defended. A look at the map will show that this must be very difficult. The lack of homogeneity has been a great source of trouble to all the European nations. England has had the Irish trouble (which has been a very potent factor in her going to war). The unrest in Lorraine, and that of about thirty thousand Danes in the north of Schleswig, and the now past differences with several millions of Poles, have given my country considerable trouble. Italy is restive because of a few hundred thousand Italians incorporated into Austria. The Polish question is constantly occupying the Russian mind; so is the Jewish question, which has there more a racial than a religious character. The ardent desire of the Servians to redeem their brethren in Austria has given cause for the present war. So any rearrangement of the European map that would not follow national lines pretty definitely would be only a source of constant friction hereafter. This does not say that every single German is to be returned to Germany, nor every single Frenchman to France. The

position of Europe is, and will remain, such that the various States must look for defensive measures against their neighbors, and such strategic considerations should have a large share in any peace settlement. But as a general rule, I would not consider it wise for my country to attempt any territorial aggrandizement in Europe.

The Future of Belgium

From the foregoing it would follow that Belgium would not be made a German province. As events have shown, her natural position with respect to France and England—especially as a bulwark for the latter on the continental side of the Channel—has made Belgium a vassal of the two countries. As Sir Edward Grey says, he “expected” Belgium to fight to the last man. And fight she did, practically without help from the Allies. Belgium was so entangled with England by the various military “conversations” or arrangements, such as those evidenced by the plan of Colonel Bernardiston, that she could not accept the German Chancellor’s offer of integrity, indemnity, and full restoration, tendered twice—both before and after the fall of Liège. By accepting these offers, Belgium could have avoided all the misery that has since befallen her. It is her own doing that has placed her in her present plight.

Geographically, Belgium does certainly belong to the German Empire. She commands the mouth of the biggest German stream. Antwerp is most essentially a German port and the main outlet of the trade of western Germany. That Antwerp should not belong to Germany is as much an anomaly as if New Orleans and the Mississippi delta had been excluded from the Louisiana Purchase, or as if New York had remained English after the War of Independence.

These considerations will probably determine the German attitude. While no attempt is likely to be made to place Belgium within the German Empire alongside of the Kingdoms of Bavaria, of Würtemberg, and Saxony, because of her non-German population, the connection between Germany and Belgium must be strengthened by including her into the German customs union, as has been the case with Luxemburg ever since 1867; and, furthermore, the harbors of Belgium must be secured by some practical means against British or French invasion. That Belgian neutrality has been an impossibility, the past has shown, and so her state of neutrality will probably be lost for all time. On the other hand, such an arrangement would give Germany an opportunity to build up Belgium again industrially, agriculturally, and commercially, and Germany would probably have to engage to provide the necessary financial aid.

The North Sea and the Channel

England has now bottled up the North Sea by its command of the British Channel. It will be necessary in future to reestablish a *mare liberum* (a free sea). There are various means by which this could be accomplished.

The English theory, that the sea is her boundary, and that all the sea is her territory down to the three-mile limit of the other Powers, can not be tolerated.

The neutralization of all the Channel coasts—English, Dutch, Belgian, and French—even in times of war, must be necessarily secured, and the American and German doctrine that private property on the high seas should enjoy the same freedom from seizure as private property does on land, should be guaranteed by all the nations. The importance of such a stipulation will be readily recognized at a time like the present, when England makes commercial war upon the United States on the pretence of protecting her interests against the nations with which she is engaged in a struggle. It would become equally necessary to neutralize all cables; their cutting has hurt the United States even more than Germany.

The Colonies

It must be demanded, as a matter of course, that all of the colonial possessions, without exception, should be returned. But her growing population makes it absolutely imperative that Germany should also get some territory that could be populated by whites. At the present time she has no such colonies. In all the German possessions over the sea, in spite of efforts that have lasted for over thirty years, less than thirty thousand white people, including military, have been settled. So she must endeavor to get some such territory with a climate fit for her people. The Monroe Doctrine (which Germany has always recognized in letter as well as in spirit) forbids our seeking expansion on this side of the water, either in North or in South America. So we will have to turn to some such place like Morocco—if it is really fit for the purpose, which I am unable to say at this present time.

Germany and Turkey

Germany has been for about thirty-five years the associate of Turkey in developing Turkish territory, commerce, and industry. She has acquired the Oriental railways and built the Anatolian and Bagdad lines. She has established harbors and shipping companies, and engaged in mining and very extensive irrigation works. She must demand to be left with a free hand to go on with this commercial development as far as she can arrange with the sovereign power of the Porte and without outside interference. This would mean a recognized sphere of influence from the Persian Gulf to the Dardanelles.

The Commerce of the World

Germany stands, and has always stood, for the "open door and equal opportunity" policy, as to China and to other countries as well as to the British colonies, and it must be strictly maintained. All such underhanded proceedings as, for instance, the Japanese have resorted to, attempting to throttle foreign commerce by the possession of the railways in Man-

churia, must be done away with, and all the Powers must see to it that no more parts of the earth are closed to the exclusive advantage of any one nation. While every nation must have an undisputed right to treat foreign goods and foreign immigrants as she sees fit in her own interests, every nation must treat all other nations in a spirit of equality and without discrimination.

The Fate of the Smaller Nations

Of course, it is incumbent upon Germany to see that such as have helped her in her struggle shall not be left to the mercy of her antagonists. The right of the peoples to frame their own destinies must be fully recognized. If the Finnish nation, which is of non-Slavic descent, choose to join their Swedish brethren, we will have to stand up for them. If Poland has the necessary vitality, she should have a chance to show it. If the Boers want to be independent, they should have that right. And if Egypt wants to return to Turkey, she must be permitted to do so. All this must be done in such a way that no new dangers can arise to the dual alliance.

There is nothing in this program that would seriously change the aspect of Europe. There is no wish for world-dominion or any unduly predominant Power in western Europe incommensurate with the mass of 122,000,000 of Germans and Austrians, and there is no danger to the peace of Europe. It is simply the carrying out of the peaceful aims that Germany has had for the last forty-four years—the only nation of Europe that, even in the face of intense provocation, has never let herself be dragged into any war, or has taken by force a foot of territory against the will of the owner.

In conclusion, I will say that while I am speaking as a private person and can not voice in any way official sentiment, I feel sure that I am at one with the best German element, and that my opinions are shared by almost everybody in my country. My country did not wish this war, has done its utmost to ward it off, and is not like England, which, on her own testimony, stands convicted of an effort to destroy an unwelcome competitor and a people whose chief sins are diligence and thrift, and who have never harmed the rest of the world. The only thing Germany stands committed to is to hold and maintain its "place in the sun."

